

SOCIOLOGY — AND — SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
COMBINING THE JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY
AND BULLETIN OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

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THE YELLOW PRESS

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THERE IS A popular notion that a newspaper is something that is printed merely; that, once off the press the newspaper, like a brick, is a completed and marketable product. This, as newspapermen well know, is a mistake. It is not enough to edit a paper and print it. It is equally important that it should be circulated and read. A paper that is printed but does not circulate is, in fact, not a newspaper at all. It must have revenue to make it independent; and must have readers to make it influential. Circulation is a measure of both. The necessity of getting and keeping a circulation has very largely determined the character of the newspaper as it exists in America today. The struggle for existence has been a struggle for circulation.

The type of newspaper that exists is the type that has survived. The men who may be said to have made the modern newspaper—James Gordon Bennett, Charles A. Dana, Joseph Pulitzer, and William Randolph Hearst—are the men who, after they had discovered the kind of paper that men and women would read, had the courage to publish it.

The daily newspaper is an urban institution. Reading, which was a luxury in the country, has become a necessity in the city. This is true, in part, because city people—who live in tenements or in apartment houses or in hotels—have, generally speaking, no neighbors. In such a world it is almost as necessary to be able to read a newspaper as

it is to speak the language. How else can one know what is going on in this vastly complicated life of the city? Newspapers and newspaper circulation have inevitably grown with the growth of cities. For that reason newspapers circulate more widely in cities, and particularly in great cities than they do in small towns and in rural communities. In Chicago, for example, there are 91 papers, published and circulated every day for every one hundred of the population. Outside of the city, the proportion is 19 newspapers circulated for every one hundred of the population.

One other thing that explains the extraordinarily wide circulation of the American newspaper is the extraordinary success of American editors and reporters in writing the news. American newspapers are notoriously easy to read. If there are more newspapers read in America, in proportion to the population, than in any other country in the world, it is because newspaper men in America have been more able and willing, than newspaper men elsewhere, to address themselves to the average man, rather than to the intelligentsia.

The ordinary man, we are told, thinks in concrete images. He gets his ideas in the form of anecdotes and pictures and parables. He finds it difficult and tiresome to read a long article, unless it is dramatized, and takes the form men call a "story." Everything in the American newspaper is a story. "News story" and "fiction story" are two forms of modern literature that are now so much alike that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish them.

The *Saturday Evening Post*, for example, writes news in the form of fiction, while the daily press writes fiction in the form of news. When it is not possible to present ideas in the dramatic form of a story, the ordinary reader likes them stated in a short paragraph.

It is said that James E. Scripps founded the *Detroit News*, one of the most successful afternoon papers in the

United States, on the very simple psychological principle that the ordinary man will read a newspaper item in the inverse ratio to its length. Mr. Scripps' method of measuring the efficiency of his newspapers, therefore, was to count the number of items that they contained. The paper that had the largest number of items was the best paper. This is just the reverse of Mr. Hearst's methods. His papers have fewer items but they have more pictures. The fundamental principle upon which both types of paper are conducted is the same. Both have succeeded by making the newspaper easy to read.

In their efforts to make the newspaper readable to the least-instructed reader, to find in the daily news material that would thrill the crudest intelligence, publishers have made one important discovery. They have found that the difference between the highbrow and the lowbrow, which once seemed so profound, is largely a difference in vocabularies: I can illustrate the point by a story. My friend Alexander Johnson is a particularly successful public speaker. He talks to all sorts of people and enjoys it. He had made a particularly successful speech one day to the congregation of an immigrant church. The priest asked how it was that he was able to speak so readily and intelligibly to an audience that was strange to him and more or less strange to the language that he used. "Well, I'll tell you," he said. "I used to be the head of an institution for the feeble-minded. It was part of my duty every Sunday to speak to them. I have found that if you can speak to the feeble-minded, you can speak to any one."

This is just the discovery that the American newspaper has made. The writers for the newspaper found that if they could make themselves intelligible to the common man, it was even less difficult to make themselves understood by the intellectuals. The character of the present-day newspaper in America has been profoundly influenced by this fact.

Now the newspapers that have done the most to increase the number of newspaper readers in this country have been undoubtedly the so-called yellow press. Long before the yellow press had arrived upon the scene, the newspaper men had begun to experiment and make discoveries concerning the idiosyncracies of the popular mind. They discovered, for one big thing, that the average man is a good deal more interested in news than in opinion, that he would a good deal rather read about a dog fight in Podunk than an earthquake in Peru. Horace Greeley had a keen sense of what the public wanted, in the way of news. This is evident from a letter he once wrote to a young man who was about to start a country newspaper. This is what he wrote:

Begin with a clear conception that the subject of deepest interest to an average human being is himself; next to that, he is most concerned about his neighbors. Asia and the Tongo Islands stand a long way after these in his regard. It does seem to me that most country journals are oblivious as to these vital truths. If you will, so soon as may be, secure a wide-awake, judicious correspondent in each village and township of your country, some young lawyer, doctor, clerk in a store, or assistant in a post office will probably send you whatever of moment occurs in his vicinity, and will make up at least half of your journal of local matter thus collected, nobody in the county can long do without it. Do not let a new church be organized, or new members be added to one already existing, a farm be sold, a new house be raised, a mill be set in motion, a store be opened, nor anything of interest to a dozen families occur, without having the fact duly though briefly chronicled in your columns. If a farmer cuts a big tree, or grows a mammoth beet, or harvests a bounteous yield of wheat or corn, set forth the fact as concisely and unexceptionally as possible.

Horace Greeley certainly knew what news was. But he belonged to an older and different tradition than that represented by the modern newspapers. He published a journal of opinion, and he was one of the last of the great edi-

tors whose opinions counted. The modern newspaper which finally blossomed into the yellow journal had a different and a humbler origin. In 1833, Benjamin Day, with a few associates, started a paper as he put it, "for mechanics and the masses generally." The price of this paper was one cent. But the publishers expected to make up by larger circulation, and by advertising, the loss sustained by the lower price.

At that time the other New York papers were selling for six cents each. Their circulations were limited, but they were respectable. The new penny paper, the *New York Sun*, was less respectable, but it soon gained a much wider circulation, "among the mechanics and the masses generally." Of course it succeeded, not merely because of its cheaper price, but because it printed more police news and less politics, than any of its rivals.

The old time journalists were inclined to have a contempt for news, unless it was political news. In any case, news was regarded by them simply as material upon which to base editorials. I think it was Charles A. Dana who once said that he was willing to print in his paper "anything that God would let happen." But the old time journalists felt a responsibility to their readers that the later newspapers have not shared. If God let things happen that were not in accordance with the conceptions of the fitness of things, they simply suppressed them. They refused to take the responsibility of letting their readers learn about things that they knew ought not to have happened.

The old time journalist, so far from addressing himself to the average man, was distinctly distrustful of the masses. Manton Marble, who was editor of the *New York World* before Joseph Pulitzer took it over, used to say that there were not 18,000 people in New York City to whom a well-conducted newspaper could afford to address itself. If the

circulation of his paper went above that figure, he was sure there must be something wrong with it. Before Mr. Pulitzer took it over, the circulation had actually sunk to 15,000. The old *New York World* conserved the type of the old, conservative paper down to the 80's. By that time, in all the larger cities, the independent newspapers, the papers which emphasized news rather than politics, had completely supplanted the older journals of opinion. This change was largely due to the enterprise of James Gordon Bennett, founder of the *New York Herald*. Bennett, following the example of Day, of the *Sun*, set the pace for the new form of journalism.

In fact, as Will Irwin says in the only adequate account that has ever been written of the American newspaper, "James Gordon Bennett invented news as we know it." Bennett, like some others who have contributed most to modern journalism, was a disillusioned man, and for that very reason, perhaps, a ruthless and cynical one. "I renounce all so-called principles," he said in his announcement of the new enterprise. By principles he meant, perhaps, editorial policies. His salutatory was at the same time a valedictory. In announcing the purposes of the new journalism he bade adieu to the aims and aspirations of the old. Henceforth the editors were to be news gatherers and the newspaper staked its future on its ability to gather, print, and circulate news.

Up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, that is to say, up to about 1880, most newspapers, even in our large cities, were conducted on the theory that the best news a paper could print was a death notice or marriage announcement.

Up to that time the newspapers had not yet begun to break into the tenements, and most people who supported a newspaper lived in homes rather than in apartments. The telephone had not yet come into popular use; the

automobile was unheard of; the city was still a mosaic of little neighborhoods, like our foreign-language communities of the present; neighborhoods, in which the city dweller still maintained something of the provincialism of the small town.

Great changes, however, were impending. The independent press was already driving the old-time newspaper to the wall. There were more newspapers than either the public or the advertisers were willing to support. It was at this time and under these circumstances that newspaper men discovered that circulation could be greatly increased by making literature out of the news. Charles A. Dana had already done this in the *Sun*, but there still was a large section of the population for whom the clever writing of Mr. Dana's young men was caviar.

The Yellow Press grew up in an attempt to capture for the newspaper a public whose only literature was the family story paper or the cheap novel. The problem was to write the news in such a way that it would appeal to the fundamental passions. The formula was: "love and romance for the women; sport and politics for the men."

The effect of the application of this formula was to increase enormously the circulation of the newspapers, not only in the great cities, but all over the country. These changes were brought about mainly under the leadership of two men, Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst.

Pulitzer had discovered, while he was editor of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, that the way to fight popular causes was not to advocate them on the editorial page but to advertise them in the news columns. It was Pulitzer who invented muck-raking. It was this kind of journalism which enabled Pulitzer, within a period of six years, to convert the old *New York World*, which was dying of inanition when he took it, into the most talked about, if not the most widely circulated paper in New York City.

Meanwhile, out in San Francisco, Mr. Hearst had succeeded in galvanizing the old moribund *Examiner* into new life, making it the most widely read newspaper on the Pacific Coast.

It was under Mr. Hearst that the "sob sister" came into vogue. This is her story, as Will Irwin told it in *Collier's*, February 18, 1911:

Chamberlain (managing editor of the *Examiner*) conceived the idea that the city hospital was badly managed. He picked a little slip of a girl from among his cub reporters and assigned her to the investigation. She invented her own method; she "fainted" on the street, and was carried to the hospital for treatment. She turned out a story "with a sob for the unfortunate in every line." That was the professional beginning of "Annie Laurie" or Winifred Black, and of a departure in newspaper writing. For she came to have many imitators, but none other could ever so well stir up the primitive emotions of sympathy and pity; she was a "sob squad" all by herself. Indeed, in the discovery of this sympathetic "woman writing," Hearst broke through the crust into the thing he was after.

With the experience he had gained on the *Examiner* in San Francisco, and with a large fortune that he had inherited from his father, Hearst invaded New York in 1896. It was not until he reached New York and started out to make the *New York Journal* the most widely read paper in the United States that yellow journalism reached the limit.

Pulitzer's principal contribution to yellow journalism was muck-raking, Hearst's was mainly "jazz." The newspaper had been conducted up to this time upon the theory that its business was to instruct. Hearst rejected that conception. His appeal was frankly not to the intellect but to the heart. The newspaper was for him first and last a form of entertainment.

It was in the Sunday newspaper that the methods of yellow journalism were first completely worked out. The men chiefly responsible for them were Morrill Goddard

and Arthur Brisbane. It was Goddard's ambition to make a paper that a man would buy even if he could not read it. He went in for pictures, first in black and white, and then in colors. It was in the *Sunday World* that the first seven-column cut was printed. Then followed the comic section and all the other devices with which we are familiar, for compelling a dull-minded and reluctant public to read.

After these methods had been worked out in the Sunday paper, they were introduced into the daily. The final triumph of the yellow journal was Brisbane's so-called "Heart-to-Heart Editorials." The art of the thing consisted in telling in the simplest language possible—and with the aid of diagrams and pictures—what everyone had always known. Nowhere has Herbert Spencer's maxim, that the art of writing is economy of attention, been so completely realized.

The yellow press, in the sense that the term was used in the early 90's, no longer exists. It has passed into history. Not that the press has not retained all, or most all of the characteristics which it acquired in that dazzling period of newspaper enterprise and innovation, but these innovations no longer dazzle nor bewilder us.

Looking back upon it now, we can see that whatever else it was responsible for, the yellow press did make reading easy and popular. It did bring within the circle of a single public a larger number of people and a wider range of interests and intelligence than any other type of newspaper has ever done before. The circulation of newspapers between 1880 and 1890, when the yellow press was in its first bloom, increased 135.2 per cent. In the period from 1880 to 1921 the total circulation of newspapers in the United States increased from 3,566,395 to 33,741,742.

That, in brief, is the story of the Yellow Press. All that I need to add is this: The yellow press, as a form of literature, was at least democratic.

REPRESENTATIVE CONCEPTS IN SOCIOLOGY

EDWARD CAREY HAYES

University of Illinois

An open letter to

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

IT HAS long been a cherished notion of mine that it would be a fine thing if a group of sociologists could take a house in some charming spot for a part of the summer vacation and spend the forenoons in discussing the fundamental concepts of sociology and the afternoons in outdoor sport. Your letter asking me to help in making out a list of such fundamental concepts prompts me to reply in the form of an open letter to the journal of SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH with the thought that in the absence of such actual contact as this summer project would allow, a series of letters to the JOURNAL may be elicited that will have some of the advantages which personal discussion would have in a fuller degree.

Accordingly, I am submitting the following list of sociological terms. Many others might have been included and I hope that other writers will mention those which seem to them especially to invite attention.

A. SOCIAL STRUCTURE

1. *Group*

Population, together in space and time.

Social group, united by cause and effect relations between activities of members.

Personal Group

Family, play group, neighborhood.

Impersonal Group

American Association for the Advancement of Science is an example.

Crowd

Mob

Public

Society

Community

A group having a unity which is the undesigned or incidental result of biological, social, or other causes, and having a community of interest of which its members may or may not be fully aware.

Voluntary Society

A corporation, aware of its aims, its unity designed, membership the result of choice and not of birth or other accident.

Class

Caste

Party

Party—Interest Group

Sect

Functional Group

Culture Group

Human Ecology

Questionable term in this connection.

2. *Individual*

The socially acquired activity-pattern, considered as a durable biological fact, might be regarded as the primary unit of social structure, the individual socius as the secondary unit, and the group as the tertiary unit.

The Self

Socius

An individual such as biological evolution could not produce, the result of "socialization."

Socialization

Habit

Activity Pattern

Opinion

Sentiment

Attitude

Valuation

Standard

Interest—desire, “wish”

Predisposition

Organic need, as for food, safety, and a mate.

Subconscious set

Second nature

3. *Social Relations*

Of similarity and consciousness of kind. Causal relations:

(1) Causal relations of the first order are relations of condition and consequent, stimulus and response, or cause and effect between activities of different persons in which the activity that is effect always begins as an idea¹ of the past, present, or anticipated activity of another person. The domain of social psychology. (2) Causal relations of the second order are all others in which the effect is mediated by a physical link the effectiveness of which does not depend on its conveying an idea of the act which was cause, as when the house owner is benefited by the honest work of the house builder.

All social relations whether of similarity or of causation are relations between activities of different individuals. They must be distinguished from the activities which stand related. They are the “social forms” or “forms of association.”

Association

Generic name for all social relations. It is not a kind of activity. Any kind of activity may go on in association.

¹ It is recognized that an idea is not a thing but an event in the life process, that is, an activity.

Communication

Causal relation of the first order in the initial stage.

Prestige

Social Suggestion as a cause and effect relation between ideas.

Sympathetic Radiation as a cause and effect relation between sentiments.

Imitation as a cause and effect relation between overt activities.

No one of the last three terms is the name of any particular kind of activity. Imitation, for example, is not a particular kind of overt activity, or process, but is *any* overt activity, from saying "mamma" to building a skyscraper, that stands in the relation of consequent to a similar antecedent activity. This *relation* is all that instances of imitation have in common except the overt character of the activities.

Deterrence

Inducement

Co-operation

Organization

Co-ordination of differentiated activities in producing a common result.

Democracy

Organization devised and administered with balanced regard for the interests of all who participate as contrasted with organization devised and administered with disproportionate regard for the interests of the organizers. Democracy is not merely a form of relationship; it can not be abstracted from certain traits in the related activities as forms of relationship can.

Competition

Conflict

Assimilation as a change in relations between activities.

Accommodation as a change in relation between activities.

Social Distance

A figurative term for subjective obstacles to intimacy and co-operation, such as dislike, fear, hate, suspicion, contempt, etc. Also used for difference in status. Of literary rather than scientific use.

B. SOCIAL PROCESS

1. *Social Activity*

Activity conditioned by present or antecedent association.

Aspects of Social Activity

Sociophysical: The behavioristic aspect, or activities as they exist for the bystander, together with physical products such as books and houses considered as recording the activities which produced them.

Sociopsychic: Activities as they exist for the actor.

Social Value

Poor term when used as a synonym for "collective representation"² or culture trait.

Collective Representation

Poor term.

Culture Trait

Culture Complex

Culture Pattern

Social Heritage

Tradition

Culture

Culture Area

Diffusion

Convergence

Folkways—Customs

Mores—Institutions

Moral Code

² Compare *American Journal of Sociology*, Nov., 1925, article entitled "Some Social Relations Restated."

Ethics

Knowledge of the activities required for social success by the facts of the situation as contrasted with the *supposed* requirement, or moral code.

Fashion

Phases

Custom, fashion, institution.

Invention

Any new activity not prescribed by biological heredity and interesting enough to be repeated on purpose.

Social Selection

Uniformity

In a culture complex among those who practice it.

Content

Of a culture complex.

Prevalence

Of a culture trait or complex.

Strength

Of a culture trait.

Conditions

Geographic, technic, psychophysical and social which affect social activity, often spoken of as "the environments." Social activity is never to be explained in terms of "a cause," but always in terms of a set of conditions.

Crisis

An effective change in the conditions affecting social activity.

Social Control

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF MORALITY*

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

The University of Missouri

THE EARLIEST conception of morality was that it was simply a matter of sharing customs. Immorality was simply the breaking of the rule of custom. Therefore morality as well as law originated in custom. The great mass of mankind still have scarcely any higher conception of morality. Even Hegel could say that "morality is the legality of the heart." This conception of morality would identify it with custom and law. It would make morality, to be sure, a social matter; but something determined by the custom of the social group. If this were true, there would be no appeal from the custom of the group. The customs of groups, however, vary, and therefore morality would vary directly with the customs of the groups. Many anthropological and sociological writers have indeed reached this somewhat startling conclusion. If it were correct, there would be obviously no use for the concept of morality. It would be simply another name for the observance of custom, and what would be moral in one group would be immoral in another, and the group would in all cases determine what was moral and what was immoral. Sumner seems to endorse this position when he says that the "mores" or customs can make anything right. If he had said that the mores can make anything appear right

*EDITORIAL NOTE: An excerpt from a forthcoming book entitled *Cultural Evolution: A Study of Social Origins and Development*, to be published for Professor Ellwood by the Century Company, in October.

to the uncritical mind, of course every student of society would have to agree with him.

Customary morality has been the chief morality of the great mass of the people in all ages. No other sort of morality was dreamed of during the whole of the savage stage. "It is the custom; therefore it is right," was the universal reasoning of the savage mind. It was also the typical reasoning during the stage of barbarism. Barbaric customs, however, bore down so heavily upon individuals and especially upon conquered groups that in the later stages of barbarism the right of custom began to be questioned. But it was not until writing had been invented and ideas could be graphically symbolized that concepts of right and wrong began to be critically examined. Then among some of the more advanced peoples morality began to be represented as something above custom, as the will of God, God being conceived as a ruler or monarch. This idea of right or morality probably arose from the fact that the absolute monarch not infrequently exercised his authority contrary to custom, and that when he was a human man his rule came to be regarded by the people as superior to the rule of custom. As the idea of God developed, it was felt that the judgments of such an ideal personality were safer and better than the rule of custom. The conception of the will of God, however, was greatly influenced by the custom of the time, for as we shall see, primitive religion was scarcely more than the sanctification of custom. Therefore this theological conception of morality did not at the beginning break the shackles of custom.

Probably the Greeks were the first people to break openly with the conception that the moral was merely the customary. Some of the Sophists, as the Greek public teachers were called, early taught that "might makes right." With the conquest of one people by another, customs inevitably came into conflict. The problem was, which custom was

right, and the crude answer to this question naturally was, the custom of the stronger group. Moreover, the absolute monarch at times broke the custom of the group, oftentimes to the advantage of other individuals than himself. Therefore it seemed evident that might made right, for "the will of the stronger." The Sophists who taught this probably did not intend to set up an inhumane doctrine, but the doctrine proved to be in the long run more inhumane than the view that the customary is the right, because it justified all sorts of oppression and tyranny. It was a much worse conception of morality than the conception which identified morality with custom, and this became evident even to the better minds among the Sophists.

Some of the Sophists and probably a majority of the Greeks, at least in later times, inclined to the view that that is right which conduces to the pleasure or to the happiness of individuals. Right was not mere custom nor mere might, but that which would maximize the happiness of individuals. It was something to be determined by individuals themselves subjectively. This was the conception developed by Epicurus and his followers. Epicurus especially emphasized the value of intellectual and esthetic pleasures. This view of morality aimed at the mitigation of the hardships and suffering of life. It was the conception of morality which was readily taken up and popularized, in an age which had attained some comfort and which desired to increase the pleasures of life. But it proved a very radical conception of morality, because it gave such scope to arbitrary individual choice and to self indulgence. It speedily degenerated into a doctrine that the good of life consisted in the maximization of comfort and sensual pleasure. It not only dissolved the old customary morality but was a powerful factor in bringing about the social disintegration which soon set in, first in Greece and then in Rome.

The wisest of the Greek thinkers saw that this was an impossible conception of morality and that it tended to dissolve social order. Both Plato and Aristotle attempted to set up a more social conception of morality and that the essence of right was to be found in a rational ideal social order. It was the perfect society, not custom nor might nor pleasure, which defined the right. For both Plato and Aristotle the right consisted in sharing a social ideal. Just what this ideal was, however, they disagreed. Plato's conception of an ideal society was very different from Aristotle's, though both seem to agree that the right involves a certain balance or harmony between all of the elements of life.

Something approaching the later intuitionists was to be found in the teaching of the Stoics, who emphasized the fact that the reason within the individual told him what was right. The right was harmony, to be sure, with a universal rational order, but this rational order was in the soul of man and could be discovered by looking within. This was something resembling the exaltation of conscience or of moral sense which we meet in later times.

While these attempts to find a higher standard of right than mere custom were going on among the Greeks, a similar movement was taking place in Jewish thought. The later Jewish prophets began to speak of the right less in terms of God's might and more in terms of an ideal society which they called the Kingdom of God. This conception was developed by Jesus of Nazareth. According to Jesus, the good was that which worked toward the establishment of an ideal human society in which God's will should be done; but he conceived of God's will as that of a loving father who wished his children to live together in love and mutual service. Jesus thus conceived the Kingdom of God as an ideal human society, which he likened to a family with God as father and men as brothers. This idea of the

right cannot be considered wholly indefinite. It was indeed taking the family pattern and idealizing it as a pattern for human relations at large. Very definitely Jesus conceived of the good in terms of a reciprocity of service among men in the building up of a harmonious human society. According to him, this was doing the will of God. Fulfilling God's will was the right, but the only possible way in which this could be realized was through the serving of men. Thus Jesus set up, like Plato and Aristotle, a definite socialized conception of morality, which did not, however, consist of conforming to custom but in serving a social ideal. This ideal was a social order permeated by love, or modelled upon the family pattern at its best. Unlike the Greek thinkers, Jesus did not emphasize that such a social order must be rational.

European culture has taken up only very slowly and hesitatingly the teachings of the great ethical thinkers of the Jews and the Greeks. The Epicurean doctrine that the pleasurable is the right or even the Sophists' doctrine that might makes right has found ready acceptance in some times and places; but the doctrine that that is moral which works toward the establishment of an ideal social order has had but a limited acceptance among the enlightened few. The masses still believe that the customary is the right. Protestant Christianity, however, emphasized that the right was to be found in the individual conscience. It was essentially intuitionist. It held that every man had a measure of right and wrong within him, and that he could discriminate the right from the wrong by looking within. The intuitionist school ignored the fact that the conscience of the individual is largely a result of the development of culture and that therefore conscience varies greatly in individuals of different circumstances. Moreover, this was again an individualistic or subjective theory of morality, and while useful as a weapon against tyranny

in church and state it was inadequate as a basis for right conduct.

The narrowness of the intuitionist theory gave rise to another individualistic theory, the theory of self-realization. According to the self-realizationists, there is no other conceivable end or goal of life than the development of individual personality. This theory was very well summed up by Goethe when he said, "My supreme duty is to complete the pyramid of my own being." Manifestly, however, this theory is capable of being given an individualistic turn. This was done by Nietzsche, who taught that the end of life was individual self-development. Self-development might necessitate self-aggrandizement and the exploitation of others. While Nietzsche did not represent the self-realization school at its best, he showed that self-realization was essentially an individualistic view of morality and might become dangerous to society. The very fact that Nietzsche was so opposed to democratic ideals and to Christian ethics showed the possibilities, at least, of a too narrow interpretation of self-realization in the hands of some of its devotees.

Very gradually ethical teachers have come, therefore, to acknowledge that morality is essentially social, but that only a low sort of morality can be based upon custom. Morality, we are beginning to see, consists in the sharing of a social ideal. *That is moral which works toward the establishment of an ideal social order or a perfect human society.* We have also come to see that we have not yet made out what an ideal social order or a perfect human society would be like, and that therefore we are still in the process of learning what is the right, or of determining the correct ideal of life. We no longer assume that we fully know the right. Just as we are learning slowly to spell out what truth is, so we are learning slowly to spell out what the right is. Both are matters of experiment and

discovery. Indeed, this is the cultural significance of the crude experiments in the history of morality which we have just discussed. It was inevitable when man began to perceive that the right could not be identified with the customary, that he should confuse it with power, with pleasure, with the individual moral sense, or with individual self-realization. But we are now beginning to see that all of these were but crude gropings toward the moral as the socially ideal.

When we say that we are slowly learning what the right is, we do not mean that sheer relativeness is or should be dominant in modern ethical conceptions. We are simply acknowledging that we have much yet to learn as to the correct ideals of life and of human relations, and especially when it comes to the details and the concrete. We have, to be sure, many general principles in morals just as well established as many of the more general principles in science. We know that men cannot live successfully together on a basis of hatred, distrust, dishonesty, and untruthfulness. But in the concrete application of these general principles to social relations and practical human living we are scarcely further advanced than Jesus of Nazareth, who saw that the ideal relation among men must be something like the relations within a family group when it is at its best; that is, that it must be a relation dominated by mutual love, mutual service, and mutual sacrifice.

We begin to see that the good for man is necessarily a social good, and that morality consists in loyalty to the highest social values. These values are not given in the consciousness of the individual at the start, but are gradually learned in the process of mental and social development. They are a part of culture and from the social point of view its highest part. They cannot be established by tradition, authority, intuition, or even revelation, but

they must be discovered by experience and established by scientific investigation. The scientific spirit is as much needed in the realm of morals as it is needed in the field of science itself.

We see that there is a trend in that part of culture which we call "morality" toward the rational and the social, as well as in all other parts of culture. In spite of the many doubts which have been raised from Rousseau's time to the present about progress in morals, we cannot doubt at least that there has been a progress in man's moral conceptions when we take the whole history of those conceptions into account. Culture is slowly working out a rationalized and socialized morality. It is rational because it includes all elements of value in the moral ideal. It is social because it emphasizes that that ideal is a social ideal. The crude attempts, from barbarism down to the present, to set up some other ideal than mere conformity to custom mean just this. Scientific investigation shows that our moral ideal must ultimately be synthetic, because it must include all elements of permanent value in human life. It must include the ideal of self development, because an ideal social group is a collection of personalities, each of whom is an "end" in himself. It must include the happiness of every human individual; for we could not assure the most harmonious social life unless all individuals are treated as "ends" and the feelings of individuals are respected. But these things are only means to a larger end, the development of an ideal society consisting of all humanity, in which every individual shall have the opportunity to realize the best life which is possible to him. The moral ideal becomes practically a life of service in the up-building of such a humanity, in the creation of an ideal human society. This is the socialized or humanitarian morality of the future which human society must attain to if it is to achieve normal social adjustment.

A CRISIS IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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A FASCINATING little volume big with significant implications for research in anthropology and sociology has recently come from the pen of Professor Malinowski.¹ It is significant that the author should deem it necessary to explain that he has taken in this book what seems to him something of a vacation from the accepted academic standards of anthropological research. Thus, he points out that "the modern anthropological explorer, who goes into the field fully trained in theory, charged with problems, interests, and maybe preconceptions, is neither able nor well-advised to keep his observations within the limits of concrete facts and detailed data. He is bound to receive illumination on matters of principle, to solve some of his fundamental difficulties, to settle many moot points as regards general perspective."

This in itself is highly interesting. It suggests that we are here confronted with something more than an unilluminated and unilluminating collection of facts about primitive society. In our current sociological terminology, it sounds like mere "social investigation" deepening into real "research." While not so sure about these verbal distinctions, I am sure that in the study before us something immensely interesting and important came out of some-

¹ *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, by Bronislaw Malinowski, pp. ix+132 (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York; and Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London.)

thing that probably would have remained impeccably orthodox and commonplace if the distinguished and able anthropologist had not been guilty of "yielding to such temptation" as lay in the urge "to present the details of custom, belief, and organization against the background of a general theory of primitive culture."

The particular questions he had in mind are themselves possessed of the greatest socio-anthropological interest, namely, "whether the primitive mind differs from our own or is essentially similar; whether the savage lives constantly in a world of supernatural powers and perils, or, on the contrary, has his lucid intervals as often as any one of us; whether clan-solidarity is such an overwhelming and universal force, or whether the heathen can be as self-seeking and self-interested as any Christian." Aside from the delicious irony in this way of phrasing it, the reader will recognize that these problems are of foremost importance for the sociologist, whether his point of approach be that of social psychology or from the side of the culture concept.

Dr. Malinowski takes issue squarely with leading anthropologists who have laid emphasis upon the notion that law and order in primitive societies are accounted for by a mysterious "group-sentiment" and "instinctive submission" which keeps their tribal life flowing smoothly in the channels of immemorial custom almost without hitch or effort. This has led to the assumption that there is no law except the criminal code among savages, and that the only data worthy of the attention of the student of primitive law are presented by those situations where a tribesman is guilty of some capital offense against the tribal mores.

Malinowski holds, on the contrary, that there is in simple societies a large body of social rules analogous to the

civil code among more advanced peoples. He holds that these legal rules "form but one well-defined category within the body of custom." These rules of law "stand out from the rest in that they are felt and regarded as the obligations of one person and the rightful claims of another."

The method by which Dr. Malinowski develops this point of view is the description of extensive experiences which were his as a trusted resident among the savage tribes of the Trobriand Islands, northeast of New Guinea in Melanesia. Being entirely proficient in the native language and dialects, he presents a picture of the daily life of the tribesmen as it is actually lived. This material, gathered first hand, he analyzes by a distinctive and fruitful method.

He starts with the ordinary instead of the extraordinary, with "the law obeyed and not the law broken," and he explains not by an hypothetical "group sentiment," "instinct of submission," or any such thing, but breaks larger units of social behavior into smaller ones, and explains these in terms of economic self-interest, vanity, and other quite familiar individualistic and personal motives. The first extended example is his description of the system of mutual services by which a coastal community, as a whole, supplies fish to an inland village, which in turn repays collectively with fresh vegetables. The legal side of this collective group transaction consists of the mutual obligations between a particular man in the one group with a particular man in the other. Each expects the other to play a decent part and is not slow to notice any niggardliness, but a fine surface of politeness and ceremony covers the whole transaction so completely as to obscure its practical, individualistic, self-interested aspect from a superficial observer, whether anthropologist or otherwise.

A similar nexus of give-and-take relationships between specific individuals is shown in the fishing-teams that man

the canoes which ply the central lagoon of these coral islands. A single individual builds and owns the canoe, but he depends upon a certain crew to man it, each person having his definite place, with corresponding rights and duties; each and every one, from owner on down, being definitely bound to a certain status and function, and each watching his own rights none the less jealously because it is all done politely and under the seemingly impersonal mantle of ancient communal custom.

Likewise, when a man heaps up in his garden a pyramid of the finest yams of the yield, and later carries it with due ceremonies to his *sister's* perhaps distant household, it is done under the very general sanction of the custom known as mother-right, which is indeed the central plank in the Trobriand social and political constitution; but there are at bottom such very universal and, to us, familiar motives as desire for social recognition as a fine gardener and as a good provider. Says Malinowski: "A big heap proclaims in the words of my informant: 'Look what I have done for my sister and her family. I am a good gardener and my nearest relatives, my sister and her children, will never suffer for want of food.' " Moreover, similar contribution will come to this same man from the brothers of his own wife. Here reciprocity figures again, and through this, and in fact everything else, one sees interfused such a very "civilized" motive as pride in personal wealth and economic efficiency, a motive very strong among the Trobrianders, especially when applied to the possession of large quantities of *food*. In such matters they strike the reader as quite *bourgeois*, reminding one of our own Northwest Tribes, with their potlatches and other expressions of an extreme interest in the display of wealth.

The individual interest and motivation underlying seemingly impersonal, automatically obeyed, tribal custom

again appears in the law of exogamy, which is commonly supposed to possess a rigidity and awfulness which renders it an unthinkable act to disregard it. As a matter of fact, Dr. Malinowski finds it rather frequently infringed with all degrees of impunity, depending upon the nearness of relationship and the degree of actual incest involved. Indeed, many natives boast of their unlawful sexual adventures pursued in direct disregard of the august tribal morals and taboos.

An even more striking example of the encroachment of personal self-interest and personal wishes upon supposedly inviolable tribal standards is seen in the frequent situations where the rules of Mother-right require that a man's sister's son should succeed to his property and titles as legal heirs, while the man's affection is fixed upon his own son, whom he keeps by him and favors, in contravention of the tribal law, which counts his sons as no part of his kin and line. Some notable cases are described where tribal chiefs or leading men have thus allowed Father-love (a personal sentiment) to operate against Mother-right (an impersonal, formal and sacred institution). In similar vein one might cite Malinowski's account of ceremonial mourning, where widows of an important man wail publicly with a diligence which is not to be measured solely as an act of pure grief, but also as a duty to the deceased one's brothers, who will take note and will reward it with proportionately generous gifts when the stated time for gifts to the widow arrives.

In all this there appears little of that "cake of custom," that mountainous mass of *mores*, that automatic self-enforcing body of tradition, that "instinctive obedience," that automatic "willingness," etc., etc., which has been identified with law and order in primitive societies. Dr. Malinowski flatly challenges and apparently refutes it. In the

following passage, after having thus shown "how much elasticity, evasion, and breach there is," as in the case of exogamy among others, he continues:

On all occasions when the clan acts as one economic unit in ceremonial distributions, it remains homogeneous with regard to other clans. Within, strict accounts are kept between the component sub-clans and with the sub-clan between individuals. Thus here again the unity exists on one side, but it is combined on the other with a thorough-going differentiation, with strict watch over the particular self-interests, and last but not least with a thoroughly business-like spirit not devoid of suspicion, jealousy, and mean practices.²

With an ample array of detailed evidence similar to that instanced above, Dr. Malinowski answers the questions quoted on an opening page of this article. The evidence shows that the primitive mind is very similar to our own; that it enjoys many lucid intervals during which it is far from being oppressed by a great weight of supernatural powers and perils; and that the heathen savage is often, perhaps usually, just as individually and selfishly calculating in his behavior as the average civilized Christian!

But all this is in direct contradiction of popular opinion and of the anthropological accounts upon which it rests. It is equally important in its bearing upon sociological theory, especially the so-called "sociology of religion." In this field we have recently witnessed a considerable following for the views of the French sociologists Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl. These distinguished thinkers have stressed the theory that the primitive mind operates in ways utterly distinct from that of civilized men. Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* has had considerable influence on American sociologists who deal with social origins, his conception of "collective representations" having imbued sociologists with a disposition to regard the think-

² *Ibid.*, p. 116.

ing of nature-peoples as largely an affair of mass emotion and collective action. Lévy-Bruhl, in his recent book, *How Natives Think*, has still more sharply elaborated this notion for English readers, breaking the process up into sub-processes, which he calls "mystical perception" and "participation." These produce the "collective representations" of Durkheim, and cause the native to think emotionally and "pre-logically," as Lévy-Bruhl words it.

It will thus be seen that the investigations of Malinowski present a bold challenge to this whole movement in anthropological and sociological theorizing. This challenge is not merely implicit upon his part, but explicitly formulated in the following paragraph:

Underlying all of these ideas (i. e., "group-responsibility," "group-justice," "group-property," etc.) was the assumption that in primitive societies the individual is completely dominated by the group—the horde, the clan or the tribe—that he obeys the commands of his community, its traditions, its public opinion, its decrees, with a slavish, fascinated, passive obedience. This assumption, which gives the leading tone to certain modern discussions upon the mentality and sociality of savages, still survives in the French school of Durkheim, in most American and German works, and in some English writings.³

This is indeed a challenge, but I have spoken, in the title, of a crisis, because much more is involved than a question of the interpretation of facts. It concerns also the methods and technique by which the facts are gathered. In other words, there is here a problem in social research, as well as in anthropological method.

The older anthropology was more naïve and uncritical in its approach to tribal phenomena, and accepted facts and explanations at their face value. The distinction, only recently made by sociologists, between attitudes and opin-

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

ions, would have been of service in ethnological field-work no less than it is in present-day social research in civilized societies. An understanding of the human tendency to explain and justify, by logic, behavior that rests upon instinctive and emotional drives would also have helped the ethnologist to be less gullible in his converse with primitive folk. Without using our sociological term "rationalization," Malinowski gives a fine account of it when he says:

When the native is asked what he would do in such and such a case, he answers what he *should do*; he lays down the pattern of best possible conduct. When he acts as informant to a field-anthropologist, it costs him nothing to retail the Ideal of the law. His sentiments, his propensities, his bias, his self-indulgences, as well as tolerance of others' lapses, he reserves for his behavior in real life.⁴

Dr. Malinowski objects to what he calls "the hearsay method of field-work," where the ethnologist depends principally upon an interpreter, a notebook, and the formal question-and-answer method. By this means, as he truly says, one "can collect only opinions, generalizations, and bald statements." Such an investigator "gives us no reality for he has never seen it."

The crisis to which I here refer seems therefore to present three important aspects. The *first* suggests that the only really valuable anthropological field-work will have to be done by persons completely in command of the *language* of the group studied, and situated so as to be able and permitted to participate in the actual, innermost life of the tribe, as Malinowski seems to have done. So long as anthropological research was mainly archaeological, and consisted in making collections of material culture-objects or of language-structure, no psycho-social technique was required. But now that we are trying to learn

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

just how the native feels and thinks, particularly with respect to such intangible complexes as domestic affairs and religious values, a radically new technique is called for.

So, in the *second* place, it seems that the new ethnologist must add to his knowledge of the language the concepts and methods of psycho-analysis and of social research.⁵

In the *third* place, these linguistically proficient and sociologically instructed field investigators will have to add to their knowledge considerable despatch, because "primitive" or "nature" groups are rapidly vanishing from the earth. The crisis is therefore not only important but very acute. Dr. Malinowski's challenging little volume strengthens a growing conviction that we really know very little about the way natives think or live. A slight effort to look into *primitive religion*, through the accounts of ethnologists, voluminous and interesting as they are, quickly revealed to the present writer the woful dearth of materials that reveal any considerable insight into the sociology of religion. Is it possible to understand these simpler human communities before they vanish forever from our ken?

⁵ See such works as *Social Discovery*, by E. C. Lindeman, and *The New Social Research*, by E. S. Bogardus.

POETRY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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I. POETRY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

SUPERFICIALLY considered, poetry and science appear to be poles apart. The aim of science is an objective, impersonal, conceptual, quantitative statement of the causal relations between instrumentally and logically defined sense data. Science *explains* by relating the particular to the general. Poetry is personal, subjective, figurative, suggestive, expressive and appreciative. It aims to create a sensuous emotional mood rather than to give an explanation. Poetry deals uncritically with the raw stuff of sense experience; with imaginary situations; with concrete impressions and definite imagery; with the vague, elusive data of values and emotional experience.

It has been customary to think of the poet as a man apart from the ordinary affairs of his time; the darling of the gods, with his "eyes in fine frenzy rolling," whose thoughts, touched with the divine fire, are folly and wisdom to common men; fool, sage, and prophet, unlimited by the restraints of his time and station. *Per contra*, the scientist is often regarded as a man of fishy eye, unmoved by imagination and beauty; a cold, calculating, logic-chopping automaton, cribbed, cabined and confined in his laboratory prison-house.

Little analysis is required to reveal the absurdity of this antithesis.¹ What is poetry? Principal Shairp writes, "Whenever a soul comes into living contact with fact and truth, whenever it realizes these with more than common vividness, there arises a thrill of joy, a glow of emotion. And the expression of that thrill, that glow, is poetry."² Carlyle tells us that the poet is a man with the *seeing eye* in whom intellect and imagination are blended.³ Perhaps Wordsworth has given as good a definition as any in the preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*. He holds that the poet is not essentially different from other men but that he is characterized by a greater intensity of thought and feeling and a greater power of expressing them.

Likewise, there is no essential difference between the scientist and the common man. Both derive their knowledge from the evidence of their senses. Science tests and criticises sense data by referring them to instrumentally defined objective references. The creative scientist experiences an emotional thrill and glow whenever he perceives orderly relations appearing among his carefully defined but chaotic materials. These perceptions commonly come to him as flashes of insight, as illuminating intuitions similar to the "inspirations" of the poet. The scientist immerses himself in the deep waters of laboratory data and scientific facts as the poet immerses himself in the sensuous experiences of life. Out of this immersion come the shining achievements of both poet and scientist. Both depend up-

¹ One of the best over-statements of the function of the poet is found in Shelley's "A Defense of Poetry," *Essays and Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, edited by Ernest Rhys (Walter Scott Co., London, no date). The scientists "follow in the footsteps of the poets," p. 30; "Poetry is that which comprehends all science, and to which all science must be referred," p. 33; "Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world," p. 41.

² *The Poetic Interpretation of Nature* (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1896) p. 25.

³ *On Heroes and Hero Worship* (Ginn, Boston, 1901, edited by A. MacMechan), pp. 120-23. On the whole, Carlyle's view of the function of the poet is analogous to that of Shelley, *vid. supra*.

on the creative urge, the synthetic quality of mind, which may be called imaginative insight or intuition. Ruskin calls it the "imagination penetrative," or synthesized reason.⁴ But the imagination of the scientist is more severely disciplined and strictly limited than that of the poet. The scientist knows what not to imagine. It is often held that the poet's imagination is unfettered and unconstrained.

A cursory examination of the origin and practice of poetry shows the absurdity of the view that poetry is not straitly bound and conditioned by social limitations. Poetry began in communal song and dance and was made possible only by bodily and vocal rhythm. The most satisfactory distinction between poetry and prose is the element of rhythm.⁵ When writing is fundamentally characterized by rhythm, whether it be regular footed measures or irregular "cadences," it takes on a distinct poetic quality. Poetry began in song and dance. Consequently, the poet had to deal with things his auditors could understand. He could not transcend the thoughts and feelings and ordinary experiences of his social group. His function was to articulate the social life of his time rather than to create the social life of the future as Shelley holds in *A Defense of Poetry*.⁶

The poet's work may be a light to the feet of men in later times, to be sure, if it contains truth and beauty of universal appeal and permanence, but first of all it must

⁴ *Modern Painters*, Vol. II, pp. 312-40, especially pp. 314-5 (Everyman's Edition, Dutton, New York). Havelock Ellis, *The Dance of Life* (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1923), pp. 102-9, points out that there is no sharp boundary between science and poetry.

⁵ F. B. Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry* (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1901), Chap. II. See pp. 327-45 for relation of poetry and dancing, also Ellis, *op. cit.*, Chap. I, and *passim*.

⁶ For a similar view of a modern poet, see Kreymborg, *A Poet and his Audience*, Sup. to *New Republic*, Dec. 5, 1923, p. 8, "The artists of one generation are the forces which create the background of the next,"

be expressive of the poet's own time and of the age immediately preceding him. Like all originality, poetic creation is recombination of social commonplaces. The poet is a reflector and expressor as truly as he is a creator. Goethe has well stated it in the preface to *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, "Denn dieses scheint die Hauptaufgabe der Biographie zu sein, den Menschen in seinen Zeitverhältnissen darzustellen und zu zeigen, inwiefern ihm das Ganze widerstrebt inwiefern es ihn begünstigt, wie er sich eine Welt-und Menschenansicht daraus gebildet und wie er sie, wenn er Künstler, Dichter, Schriftsteller ist, wieder nach abgespiegelt." Goethe's biography is one of the finest expositions of this social conditioning and social reflecting of the poet.

Thus it is true that whenever significant changes in the culture of a people occur, their poetry as well as their history must be rewritten. In considering whether the poet can use the materials of science, Principal Shairp emphasizes the fact that before this can be done, both the poet and his audience must become thoroughly at home with the materials of science.⁷ This is obvious. The poet cannot make poetry about a thing until he has had living and illuminating experience with it. And there must be a common ground between him and his readers or hearers, before they will hail him as a poet. Thus poetry, like all other institutional organizations has a tendency to lag behind the significant changes in culture.⁸ Things that are new and strange are not good subject-matter for poetry. They are not part of the thick and pungent social heritage which strikes fire in the minds of both poets and readers of poetry. That is why it is easier to write poetry about moonlight-on-the-water and lovers-in-June than

⁷ *Poetic Interpretation of Nature*, p. 61.

⁸ W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, Part IV, sec. 1 and 4 (Huebsch, New York, 1922).

about steam heat and elevators. This is the reason Sandburg in his earlier period appealed to the few while Eddie Guest, Service, and Ella Wheeler Wilcox appealed to the millions. The poetry of the Machine Age is just beginning to be written.

But the cultural lag is finally overcome. Poets who were once read by almost everybody who could read, and read to those who could not, are now read no more. The cultural syntheses reflected by Homer, Lucretius, Virgil, Dante, Spenser, and Milton have largely passed away. Increasingly, we read *about* these poets, but do not read them. The reason is clear. The communal habits of thought and action have changed. The poetry may be as "good" as it ever was, but it simply does not "strike fire in our consciousness."⁹

Poetry is fundamentally democratic. The poet is limited, constrained and inspired by the social conditions of his time. If he would express the great pains and joys of life, the aspirations and ideals of people, the *values of life*, he must "go back to the communal emotions, to the sense of kind, to the social foundation."¹⁰ Whenever any phase of life begins to be reflected in poetry, we may be sure it is firmly embedded in the communal consciousness. Whenever vital poetry begins to be written about a social movement, we may be sure it is thoroughly grounded in the folkways and mores of the people. It is much easier to make poetic allusions about wine than about soda-water, about wine drinking than about prohibition. On the other hand, no modern poet has much use for the Classical Dictionary, for Ptolemaic Astronomy, for astrology, alchemy, and so on.

⁹ See A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (Macmillan, 1925), pp. 108 ff., for discussion of the way Milton, Pope, Wordsworth, and Tennyson reflected and reacted to the science of their times.

¹⁰ Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 115.

While printing drove poetry from the market place and banquet hall to the cloister and the school, the principles discussed above still hold. When we say "poet" today we usually mean the "printed poet." It is only occasionally that a true singing poet arises in the land, and he is usually soon forgotten. Even if his verses are written down, they commonly are very indifferent poetry.¹¹ But if a poet is read, it is only because he voices the feelings and sentiments, values and traditional heritage of his readers.

This sketchy analysis of the relations between poetry and social science gives the clue to the use of poetry in social research. The poet's imagination is limited by his social heritage just as his technique is conditioned by the socially determined conventions of composition.¹² The reading of poetry depends upon the vital content of the communal mind. Ideas which are bizarre, exotic, new, contrary to the folkways and mores prevalent in a given group, will not be regarded as "poetry," however "poetically" they may be expressed. Hence, poetry which is really read and recited by a group is the finest kind of research material for the sociologist interested in attitudes, sentiments, valuations, which are really alive in the minds of people. If poetry is read and repeated, it is the real stuff of men's mental and emotional makeup. It fills a fundamental need. "By singing together, their steps timed to the common rhythm, a social group seemed to hold at

¹¹ See Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 458, for the case of Perfetti (d. 1745), one of the greatest of all improvisers; Odum and Johnson, *Negro Workaday Songs* (University of No. Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1926), Chap. XII, "Annals and Blues of 'Left Wing Gordon'." Although he does not improvise, Lindsay belongs in the class of the "singing poets." He has made passable poetry out of materials that most people think very "unpoetic." So has Sandburg.

¹² Although Shelley did not recognize the truth of the first part of the above sentence, he was craftsman enough to recognize the social influence on the forms of poetry. He even suggested that the "tone of thought" might be modified by the social factors. See preface to "Prometheus Bound," Cambridge edition of *Works* (Houghton Mifflin, 1901), p. 163.

bay that tragedy which no individual could escape."¹³ If this was true of the pre-literate community, it is still partially true of this reading age. We read poetry which intensifies our joy, reinforces our ideals, expresses our fundamental values, and serves as an index of those things in life which we really cherish and foster. Scientific research into our poetry may tell us some surprising things.

II. SOCIAL RESEARCH IN POETRY

The purpose of this section is to indicate some of the kinds of social research that may be done in poetry, the source materials, the methodology, and the possible results. It is clear that the interest of the sociologist in poetry is quite different from that of the literary man. The former looks upon poetry as an expression of the ideals, attitudes, and common culture of the time. The latter is interested primarily in the artistic and esthetic attributes of poetry. Consequently most of the work of literary men consists of structural analysis, comparison of textual variations in successive editions, "critical" interpretations, tracing of documentary sources, etymological treatises, and so on. They give the impression that poets are reared in a social vacuum. Hence most biography and criticism are of little use to the sociologist.¹⁴

¹³ F. B. Gummere, *Democracy and Poetry* (Houghton Mifflin, 1911), p. 219.

¹⁴ There are many exceptions, of course, and increasingly so in these days when literary men are beginning to make "social interpretations of literature." See V. F. Calverton, *The Newer Spirit* (Boni & Liveright, 1925). This purports to be a "sociological interpretation of literature," but it is largely a doctrinaire Marxian interpretation which satisfies neither sociologists nor literary critics. See J. Q. Adams, *Life of William Shakespeare* (Houghton Mifflin, 1925), especially Chs. II, III, IV, V, XI, and XXIV for an objective presentation of the social backgrounds of a poet. In many respects George Brandes' *Main Currents of Nineteenth Century Literature* (Macmillan, New York, 1901-5), 6 volumes, approximates the sociological point of view. See particularly, Chs. XI-XVII, Vol. 6, on Heine. The "modern" school of critics, such as J. W. Krutch, *Edgar Allen Poe* (Knopf, 1926), tend to a subjective Freudianism which is just the reverse of objective sociological criticism.

The sociologist is primarily interested in the material and immaterial culture of the poet's age. This is reflected in his writing. Therefore, the best source is his poetry. Occasionally a poet writes an autobiography such as *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, which is an invaluable source. Prefaces, letters, and essays also reveal much, but the poetry itself is the best source. However, in the social analysis of a poet, everything written about him and by him should be reviewed.

Sociologists are interested in the past. Poetry lends itself to this type of research. Oftentimes, a poet sums up the ideology as well as the social and technical practices of his time. Homer serves as a good example. Keller and Seymour have given us masterly social analyses of the Homeric poems.¹⁵ Other poets, such as Lucretius, Horace, Chaucer,¹⁶ Shakespeare, Milton, and Goethe, furnish good materials for similar research. Very often, however, the major poets of an age do not tell us much about the life of their own time. They are often the voices of an age that is passing, or of one yet to come. Thus, Dante is generally regarded as the "synthesizer of the Middle Ages" which were passing even as he wrote; Shelley's face is to the future, while Keats faced the past. Some have held that there is no family likeness between the poets of a particular age.¹⁷ I doubt the validity of this judgment, but insofar as it is true, it merely shows the characteristic reactions of the several poets to the social conditions of their time.

¹⁵ T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age* (Macmillan, New York, 1907); A. G. Keller, *Social Life in the Age of Homer* (Longmans Green, New York, 1902). See also, Keller, "Sociology and the Epic," *Am. Jour. Soc.*, 6:267-71.

¹⁶ See J. M. Manly, *Some New Light on Chaucer* (Holt, New York, 1926), for an interpretation of social life in England in the fourteenth century, derived from analysis of the poetry of "good Dan Chaucer."

¹⁷ J. B. Selkirk, *Ethics and Aesthetics of Modern Poetry* (Smith-Elder, London, 1878), pp. 141-42.

However, it is probably true that the major poets of any age appeal primarily to the educated few. Only rarely do the works of major poets become the daily food of the common people as many of the songs of Heine and Goethe have done. If we would know the attitudes of the masses folk poetry and song are invaluable sources. Hence, the minor poets and the unknown singers should be studied. Montaigne was one of the first to realize this, but it remained for Herder to convince the world of the value of folk poetry.¹⁸ The fact that he was interested in it as art, rather than as material for social analysis, does not detract from its importance for the latter. Montaigne clearly realized its social significance. The chief sources would be the work of now forgotten poets who were popular in their day, and the ballads, songs, jingles, rhymed proverbs, and adages which were on the lips of everyone.¹⁹

For example, we can learn a great deal about the life of the lower classes and also of the nobles, by contrast and implication, in the cities of France about 1500 A. D. from the poetry of Villon. It meets our requirement of being read by the people, at least by those who could read, since thirty-four editions are known to have been published before 1542. Doubtless many of the ballads were memorized and recited and sung by individuals and groups who could not read. From a cursory examination of the "Lesser and Greater Testament," we learn of the wolves in the streets of Paris, of the food, dress, drink, and poverty, and of the peculiar mixture of vice and religion, which characterized

¹⁸ Gummere, *Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 129-34, 180-88. Also *Democracy and Poetry*, pp. 197-293.

¹⁹ See Kimball Young, "The Psychology of Hymns," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, January, 1926, pp. 391-406, for analysis of subject-matter and motives of 3,000 hymns. "Infantile Return" accounted for 33 per cent; "Future Reward," 24 per cent; and "Sinfulness and Redemption," 16 per cent. For sociology of proverbs, see E. S. Bogardus, *A History of Social Thought* (Jesse Ray Miller, Los Angeles, 1922), Chs. II, III.

Villon and his companions. These are significant data for a sociological interpretation of the time.²⁰

But the sociologist is primarily interested in the life of the present. The research in poetry as an interpretation of the present falls into the same two types already discussed: the major poets, who write for the few, and the poets of the people who write for everybody. I suppose it is a dangerous thing to try to name the major poets of the present. Some critics deny that there are any. But a very rough classification may be suggested. Certainly there are some poets who are widely read by the present generation whom succeeding generations will know only as names. There are others now read by fewer people whom the educated people of the future will continue to read. If we want to know what the ideas, attitudes, and values of the masses really are, we shall be more likely to find out by studying such poets as Kipling, Service, Wilcox, Guest, Riley, Lindsay, Montague, Kiser, Sophie Loeb, *et al.*, than by studying Masfield, Eliot, Amy Lowell, Noyes, Sandburg, Bridges, Robinson, Frost, and Millay. Yet it is probable that the significant changes in the ideology of the age are reflected in both types, although, because of their better art, more permanently by the latter group.

The modern troubadours, ballad-mongers and folk-singers are the minor poets, writers of light verse and popular songs. They are the real voices of the people, or at least of certain definable groups. So the sociologist finds an almost unlimited supply of this kind of verse waiting for collection and analysis. Daily newspaper verse, "columnist" verse, the songs of tramps, hoboes, sailors, lumberjacks, vaudevillians; dance hall songs, popular parlor songs, college songs and poems—all the ephemeral trash

²⁰ See John Payne's "Introduction" to the *Modern Library Edition* of Villon's poetry (Boni & Liveright, New York, no date), especially pp. 65-80.

of poetasters and doggerel writers—is worthy of his attention.²¹ Professor Rickaby's *Ballads and Songs of the Shanty-boy* (Harvard Press, 1926), is a good example of this sort of material. Nels Anderson is collecting the songs and poems of hoboes, tramps, casual workers, I.W.W.'s, and other socially submerged classes. We may look forward to a sociological interpretation of this material from Mr. Anderson who combines a distinct literary interest with the point of view of the trained sociologist. Similar collections and interpretations for various occupational groups offer an interesting field of research.²²

Another interesting subject is the poetry of racial and national groups. What poetry do our immigrants read? What poetry do they write and what is the social significance of it? A study of the Negro poets such as Cullen, Hughes, and McKay, would probably tell us a great deal about the aspirations, ideals, and attitudes of the rising group of Negro intelligentsia. The poetry of the Negro race offers a rich field for research. Professors Odum and Johnson at the University of North Carolina are utilizing their unique opportunity for collecting this material.²³

The methods used by Odum and Johnson are especially interesting. They visit the Negro singer in his native haunts of field, road-gang, rock-quarry, and plantation

²¹ See S. G. Spaeth, *Read 'Em and Weep* (Doubleday, 1926), for collection and interesting discussion of popular songs in the United States. Although there is no sociological analysis, this book shows the fashions in song from colonial times to the present. The best section is "The Golden Age, or the Nebulous Nineties," pp. 161-246. The sentimental ballads of thirty years ago are very amusing to this jazz-minded generation. Still, it is evident that many of the motives of present day songs are not greatly different from those of the nineties, or even of the forties.

²² For suggested research, see Edmund Wilson, "Shanty Boy Ballads and Blues," *New Republic*, July 14, 1926, pp. 227-29.

²³ Two volumes have already appeared *The Negro and His Songs*, 1925, and *Negro Workaday Songs*, 1926, both by the University of No. Carolina Press, Chapel Hill. Others are in preparation. *Blues: an Anthology*, W. C. Handy (A. & C. Boni, New York, 1926) should also be mentioned. For complete bibliography of earlier publications, see the two books by Odum and Johnson.

cabin, and record his songs word for word. They print them as recorded, avoiding the temptation to refurbish which has distorted so many folk songs, so far as sociological research is concerned. Recently they have begun to make photo-phonographic records of the singing, in collaboration with Professors Seashore and Metfessel, thus preserving the singing, gestures, and words in an instrumentally exact manner. This introduces a scientific method never heretofore used in the study of folk poetry and music.²⁴

So far Odum and Johnson have not addressed themselves directly to the task of giving a sociological interpretation of Negro songs and singing. There is considerable information of sociological significance, however, in the mere collection and classification of the songs. It is to be hoped that they will ultimately give us a volume of interpretation. No men in America are better prepared for the task.²⁵

Another interesting and valuable type of research would be the determination of the reaction of the poet to certain phases of contemporary life. One of the outstanding movements of the last hundred years has been the increase of city life. How has this movement been reflected in poetry? Dr. Adolf Weber, of Breslau, says, "If we would study the life of great cities we will do well to ask those who are especially called 'das Traurige und das Freudige im Menschenleben mitzufühlen: unsere Dichter.'" ²⁶ He cites

²⁴ For a brief preliminary report of this work, see *Negro Workaday Songs*, Ch. XV.

²⁵ The present writer ventured some interpretative conclusions in reviewing *The Negro and his Songs*, *American Review*, Jan-Feb., 1925, pp. 104-7, and *Negro Workaday Songs*, in *Social Forces*, December, 1926, pp. 298-300. See also review of J. W. Johnson's *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* (Viking Press, New York, 1925), in *American Review*, August, 1926, pp. 464-66. Johnson's forty page preface to this book is a valuable essay.

²⁶ *Die Groszstadt und ihre Socialen Probleme* (Quelle & Meyer, Leipzig, 1918), pp. 8 ff.

two poets, one of whom praises while the other condemns life in the great city. What do the people really think? An analysis of city poetry would throw some light upon this. In an urban anthology recently printed there are about 275 poems on the city and city life.²⁷ The contributors range from Wordsworth, who says—

Oh, blank confusion! true epitome
Of what the mighty City is herself,”

to Sandburg, who loves the city—

“By night the skyscraper looms in the smoke and the stars
and has a soul.”

If we should classify the poems according to time of composition, say, before 1800, 1800-50, 1850-1900, 1900-26, I imagine we would find a gradual emergence of the Sandburg view. Poets of today are finding the city a thing of beauty and a joy forever. This is what we would expect if the general principle is sound that poetry reflects the life of the people.

In a similar fashion we could study the poetry of family relations, democracy, labor, religion, war, farming, factories, and other phases of life. First, a representative collection; then classification, by time, place, social history of the author; finally, analysis and deductions.

One method of getting at the social significance of poetry quantitatively, would be to find out just what poetry people read; what they can recite; why they are familiar with it. Then an analysis of this material might reveal the *real* attitudes of these people, as opposed to the verbal professions they are accustomed to make. If out of 1,000 college students we should find poetry-habits which include the “colyumist” patter, a few poems of Kipling, Service, *et al.*, a few college songs, some of the Nineteenth Century

²⁷ *The Soul of the City*, Garland Greever and J. M. Bachelor (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1923).

"classics," a lot of popular songs and Mother Goose rhymes, it would go far toward explaining the irrational sentimentality which is supposed to characterize the Great American Public. Some college students may know the names of the great poets, but I venture the belief that they do not know much about them. The poetry they actually read and remember, which thus unconsciously influences their attitudes, is in most cases pretty poor trash—thin, frivolous, and stultifying. If this should be found true of college students, what would we find in the minds of non-college population? In many cases, I imagine, the verse they know best they would not admit knowing, but the untaboored admissions they might make would be most interesting.

I have argued that poetry has its origins and its limitations in the social life of the people and is therefore good material for social research. Poetry may reveal to us the real, living attitudes, ideals, and aspirations of a people, the changes in social values and practices and emotional life of particular groups. Insofar as it is widely read and memorized, it indicates the *real* attitudes of people as opposed to their conventional rationalizations.

If it be argued that these old songs and poems that "run through our minds" do not indicate *real* attitudes, but merely automatic memory responses, we should remember that our actions are often unconsciously determined by experiences we consciously think we have "forgotten." Sometimes the very vehemence of our denial is *prima facie* evidence of the actual effectiveness in action of the denied attitudes. For example, such contradictions as exist between the motives expressed in religious songs and our actual religious behavior may help to explain the confusion and conflict apparent to all critical observers of present-day religious phenomena. The same principle would hold

for all poetry which expresses attitudes of the past which are contrary to present practices. The sociology of poetry may be a valuable means of studying various aspects of cultural lag.

Likewise, it might be a fruitful way of discovering many of the unconscious motivations of life. Professor J. L. Lowes has recently shown the importance of "unconscious memories" in the production of Coleridge's poetry.²⁸ The same principle undoubtedly holds for the production of action in everyday life. If we are filled with the poetic ideology of a past age, it is unquestionable that in times of crisis we shall act in accordance with the more or less automatic patterns thus defined. There is a great deal of sound social psychology in the old saying, "Let me make the songs of the people and I care not who makes their laws." Plato expressed the same idea when he proposed to exclude poets from "*The Republic*." We cannot exclude the poets from our societies. The best we can do is to discover the mechanisms by which they work their white and black magic and then to conduct ourselves accordingly. Unlike Plato, we do not fear change; we fear irrational, unconscious manifestations of cultural lag and the perpetuation of values and attitudes which are contradictory to the practices and trends of modern life.

It is time that those who regard social phenomena as natural phenomena should address themselves to a scientific study of the sociology of poetry. The amount of social research, both of past and present life, which may be done in poetic materials is almost unlimited. To date, very little has been accomplished. The opportunities are great and the results may be extremely illuminating.

²⁸ *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination* (Houghton Mifflin, 1927).

THE SOCIAL SURVEY STANDARDIZED*

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THE HISTORY of the efforts made to analyze and interpret social activities varies in scope from the most refined metaphysical gymnastics to the crude selection of isolated situations which were held up to public gaze with the implication that they were representative. Ignorance of statistics, of research technique, and of the actual social phenomena being considered, together with the propagandist's zeal to "put something over," and the reformers' handicaps of seeing only one side of a question has left a rather dark trail of wreckage, with nothing to show for the effort expended but an elusive phantasmagoria held up for public consumption and called a social survey of the community.

The survey technique, which first developed as a general community study or a particularized muck-raking adventure, has gradually become refined and standardized into a scientific method for determining the character and extent of the conditions and activities determining group life. The social survey technique has become to the study of sociology, what accepted laboratory practice is to chemistry and biology. It has become the standardized *first step* for carrying on a scientific study of a wide variety of types of studies of social phenomena.

Up until the early years of the 20th Century there had been very few scientific studies made of community activi-

*EDITORIAL NOTE: An excerpt from the forthcoming third edition of Professor Elmer's *The Technique of Social Surveys* (Jesse Ray Miller, Los Angeles, 1927.)

ties and conditions of life. Most persons worked without having a definite knowledge of the facts underlying the activities of the group life concerned. Consequently much time and effort was wasted while the information necessary for effective work was being secured through costly experience. The value of having on hand the exact information concerning a community was brought home to an increasing number of people during the period of the war. The lack of knowledge of actual facts when most needed, and no understanding of methods to be followed when facts were to be had caused much delay and waste of energy. It is now generally recognized that it is as necessary for a community to know the extent and character of its assets and liabilities, as it is for a business man to know if there are any leaks in his business or along what lines his most promising fields of development are located.

Since 1900 there has developed a widespread desire to understand social conditions and activities. In almost every city of importance investigations are being carried on in some field or other. The organization carrying on the survey may be a church or affiliated religious organization, making a study of its particular community; a civic league making an investigation of the local industrial situation; a charitable organization investigating the poor quarters of the city; a department of health making a sanitary survey; a special committee appointed by the state or city studying the efficiency of some public institution; or it may be an intensive survey of the industries and living conditions, as was carried on in London, Pittsburgh, Birmingham, or Springfield, Illinois. Whatever the source of the particular investigation may be, the number and variety of surveys that are continually being made throughout the country indicate that there is a general demand to have information in regard to existing conditions.

The remark—"little of lasting value was accomplished by the survey"—is frequently heard, and the criticism may not be unwarranted, notwithstanding the vast amount of data collected. The fault, however, is not so much in the lack of energy as it is in misapplied energy. Too often a group of people stirred by some abnormal feature brought vividly to their attention through some epidemic or serious accident, begin to agitate that particular line, without any accurate knowledge of the community as a whole. The result is failure to accomplish anything—or worse still, some entirely inadequate legislation is passed. Often, to say the least, any action which might have resulted in improving the situation by getting at the real causes is postponed. If the group of people on becoming interested, had co-operated with those agencies already existing, and had succeeded in making a careful, scientific survey, the results would have been greater, more lasting, with less expenditure of time and money. If a *complete and thorough survey*, as outlined in the following pages, were made before attempting to inaugurate a reform movement the source of the undesirable conditions would be discovered, and all efforts might then be directed toward the place where they would be of greatest service.

The findings of a social survey should bear much the same relation to the community's activities as a geological survey would have to the development of the industrial program of a geographical area. It furnishes the data which will determine the nature and extent of future developments, as well as the basic data for determining the causal factors in past or current phenomena. It should not only help remedy present maladjustments, but also furnish the data for scientifically laying the foundation upon which future generations may build.

In summary then, the objectives of the social survey are:

1. Accurate data scientifically obtained.
2. The securing of data which will be of use in meeting some local situation or temporary program.
3. To serve as a basis for the formulation of a long time program or making some fundamental change in the organization of the community.
4. Making an historical monograph of a community.
5. A pathfinder study, as a preliminary to any kind of intensive research along a specific line.
6. Education of community leaders and establishment of purposeful co-operation between various groups.

It is the necessary first step toward measuring social attitudes, ideas, ideals, and practices, and for making a scientific analysis and evaluation of group activities, their inter-relationship and the resulting social processes.

THE FAMILY ORGANIZATION OF THE MOLOKANS

A Study in Primary Group Relations

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(The Molokans are a Russian sectarian group which dissented from the official Greek Catholic Church of Russia over two hundred and fifty years ago. They were called the "Milk-drinkers," or Molokane by the Russian Orthodox clergy because the group, after dissension, did not abstain from the use of milk during Lent. The group call themselves "Spiritual Christians" or "Gospel Men." They are "Holy Jumpers.")

About ten thousand Molokane migrated to America during 1904-06 in large family groups. About "seven thousand souls" live in and around Los Angeles at the present time.)

THE MOLOKAN family in Russia¹ is composed of several small groups related either by blood or marriage. A large family group may at times attain the size of a clan rather than a family in the strict modern American sense of the word. This form of the family unit is not peculiar to the Molokane. The peasants of Southern Russia, however, strive for independence, and their families are getting comparatively smaller, but in Great Russia this form of family organization is very prevalent.

The large family groups with an elder, patriarch, at the head, are probably an outgrowth of serfdom when families were held in large units. The patriarchal family has persisted in the agricultural community and is economically more or less self-sufficing since there is sufficient work and

¹ This paper limits itself to the Molokan family in Russia.

support for all members of the family. The groups are held together therefore by common economic interests as well as by ties of blood relation. Land is a most powerful socializing force.

The static condition of the Molokan religion, customs and mores is a strong factor in the preservation of the large family unit. The family of the Orthodox *mujik* (peasant), however, has undergone a remarkable change. "Separations (from the large family) have grown so frequent that the number of independent households in the period from 1858-1881 increased from 39 per cent to 71 per cent in the whole provincial population."²

In the Molokan groups in Russia we can trace little change in their industrial and economic life, little change in their religious life, and hardly any change in their family life. The Molokane did not develop a system of criticism and reflection upon established customs. Their outside contacts were too few and limited to arouse new social attitudes and to create new values. Their interests remained essentially the same as those of their fathers.

However, the Molokane were not able to guard completely against reorganizing elements in family life. Contact with the outside world was a matter of necessity in families which had to supplement their income through employment. Many younger men went out from the protecting shelter of the home into the larger world. New personal needs and demands arose, and family interests became gradually subordinated, though the individual may have turned over all his earnings to his father and conformed to custom in other ways. New attitudes developed, situations were defined anew, and thus new values were created. The young men at first began to differ-

² S. Stepniak, *Russian Peasantry*, 688. (This refers to the "Orthodox" Peasants only.)

entiate between the "I" and the "we-group," and later between the "I" and the "you-group," and a conflict between the new and the old attitudes arose. The individual may have never openly conflicted with his father-patriarch, but as soon as the latter passed away the son sought his share of land and property, setting up a new independent household in which he embodied his own ideas of family organization. He may have reverted in part to his customary behavior if the pressure from the outside was too great or his dependence upon the community too strong. But some degree of change was inevitable.

However, opportunities for employment for the Molokane were too limited because of their religion, the distance from industrial centers, their meager intellectual equipment, scanty training and their inferior social position in the eyes of the Orthodox Russians. Therefore, contacts with the outside world were few, and the inevitable consequences of such contacts were generally avoided.

The long discipline and close cooperation essential to the community life in large family groups cannot fail to have a marked effect upon the character of those who share that life, and this is a consideration at least as important as that of its relation to economic production. Indeed, the two questions are inextricably mixed together, for economic production depends quite as much upon individual efficiency as upon organization, and individual efficiency is almost entirely a question of individual training and character.³

It is hard to determine how much the form of family life influences the industry of the Russian sectarian peasant, or to what extent industry influences the form of family life, but it is clear that both forces have a decided effect upon the character of the individual Molokan. The invincible forces of nature have developed in the peasant quali-

³ Helen Bosanquet, *The Family*, p. 94.

ties of patience, resistance, and endurance. Their long continued struggle with nature in the Caucasus has given them strength of character and remarkable will power. Well organized families mean to the older Molokane a defence against poverty and to the younger a defence against social ostracism.

The older people foster the ideals of family life in the younger generation from the very outset, and in time the young realize the social importance of their elders. The father may cease to function economically, but the younger people depend upon his moral support. In this respect the Molokane differ widely from the Russian Orthodox peasants, and particularly from the Polish peasants where the children try to get rid of their aged parents who are frequently looked upon as a burden in the family group.⁴

The custom of the comparatively early retirement of the Molokan elders is rooted in the familial organization. The father turns over the common property to his oldest son who manages the farm with new vigor. The father retires from active service, but he retains his authority, and by virtue of more leisure time strengthens the moral support given to the family and increases the control exerted over it.

The position of women in the family group is much higher among the Molokane than among most peasant groups. After the death of the father the authority and control over the household sometimes passes into the hands of the mother, who commands the respect of her children. With their high ideals of family life the woman is not the "slave" so often found in patriarchal families. The marriage norm for the woman is obedience and submission to

⁴ See Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, Vol. IV, p. 24, Case 9.

her husband; for the man it is fidelity, support, and love.⁵ Love marriages are very unusual among the Molokane in Russia. The heads of the family desire the young members to be married; they make the choice of the mate and determine the time of the ceremony.

Second marriages are viewed favorably for the sake of the orphaned children, but remarriage during the life time of the partners is practically unknown among the Molokane in Russia.

In marriage, rank or social position are not considered, but the qualities of the partners and their families, since the latter become partners of the larger marriage group. Social standing is regarded chiefly from the point of view of individual and family morality, religiousness, and social solidarity of the family. Mental equipment is of little consideration.

Early marriages are very common among the Molokane. "Human nature is the same the world over. Our boys and girls mature early, and their blood is hot. Marriage solves many difficulties, and strengthens the family ties." (An Elder)

Physically the Molokane are sturdy men and women, broad shouldered, well built, with considerable poise and dignity. The Molokan women are generally pretty and can be considered the better type of the Russian race among the peasant groups. "Their femininity, their bashfulness, and a sort of quiet repose and even a melancholy expression of face are particularly noticeable."⁶

Their steady perseverance, their thrift, their simple mode of living, their love of work, their physical equipment made the Molokane a prosperous group, where peace, contentment, and good will prevail in nearly every family in

⁵ See *Sacred Prayer Book and Ritual*, (compiled by the Molokane), section on "Marriage."

⁶ Th. Livanov, *Dissenters and Prisoners*, Vol. I, p. 108.

Russia. Their religious beliefs and their ardent desire to live up to their traditions pave the way to submission to authority and form the basis for respect held for the decisions of the elders. When a Molokan rejects authority he is conscious of rejecting the customs, the traditions, and the "glorious past" of a "chosen people." The ready submission to authority is manifested in their attitude toward themselves. When a Molokan man, even at middle age, is asked for information regarding the group, he frequently replies: "Who am I to give you information? I don't know anything. You ask my father or an elder."

The elders preserve the continuity of authority by constantly referring to the deeds of their forefathers. Old grey men of wide experience attempt to solve the problems arising in their daily life in the light of the actions of their fathers. The Molokane are not ancestor worshipers, but their anxiety to follow the footsteps of their fathers, their pride and respect for traditions, greatly influence their behavior.

The patriarchal régime harmonizes well in Russia with other influences; in a social order where school education contributes in no way to the precocious development of youth, where knowledge is acquired only by practice of life and of social relations, the old men actually have an enormous superiority over the young. . . . The régime is confirmed by religious sentiment; thus it is almost unknown that a son should make up his mind to an act of formal disobedience, and so incur the paternal malediction.⁷

The family among the Molokans in Russia is a primary group. Life is intimate and warm, and characterized by "face-to-face association and cooperation," to use an expression given currency by Cooley. As a result of this form of organization there has been a "certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self

⁷ P. G. Le Play, *Les Ouvriers Européens*, Vol. II, p. 50, quoted in Helen Bosanquet, *The Family*, p. 60.

for many purposes at least, is the common life and the purpose of the group."⁸

The unity of the group is not merely that of harmony and love but is often a competitive unity admitting of self-assertion and various appropriative passions which are socialized by sympathy and are under the discipline of a common spirit.⁹ This phenomenon is strikingly illustrated by the observation of a member of the sect:

We were pretty much attached to each other. We respected our parents and elders. I always had a heartfelt love for my father and his oldest brother who lived with us, in spite of their ordering me around as a grown boy and even as a man. We respected our elders because they were wise; they had had much experience and were recognized as good and honest men by the whole community. In the evening, when my father had time, he read to us from the Scriptures on the duty of parents to children and vice versa. It would fairly grip my heart when I thought that in a moment of resentment I had wished him evil. (A Molokan Elder)

Strong family organization, though a matter of custom, as in the case of the Molokane, has certain advantages to the subordinate members of the family: (1) individuals do not need to struggle alone for an existence in the competitive economic world; (2) they have the security of social position and protection in the face of social and personal crises; (3) their social and recreational life is pretty well taken care of by the larger family group; (4) the familial ties strengthen the character of the individual members.

Such are some of the important characteristics of the Molokan familial and economic organization. To a large extent they display the same fundamental and social traits (characteristic ways of behavior) and are controlled by the same social forces as other primary groups.

⁸ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 23.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

RECLAIMING CRIMINALS IN SHOLAPUR, INDIA

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ON MY WAY to Bombay some time ago I stopped off for a day to see the Sholapur Industrial Settlement where Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Strutton of the American Marathi Mission are engaged in a truly wonderful piece of work devoted to the reclaiming of criminal tribes in that section of the Bombay Presidency.

These criminal tribes are bands of wandering thieves and robbers, something like our gypsies only far more dangerous. Robbery is their caste occupation, encouraged by their religion, and allowed by their special organization. It is no crime to steal, according to their code of ethics; the only shame they know is being found out. The Police agent was their worst enemy; they really feared him but they did not respect him. It was not considered, formerly, to be the aim of the Police Department to try to reform these tribes; the function of the Police was to detect crime and punish the criminal. But within recent years a great change has come over the Government's policy in dealing with this class of people. Now the Government Departments of India are trying to do a piece of real good missionary work themselves in seeking to reclaim and not simply to punish these criminal tribes; this work is being conducted through properly constituted Government Departments operating in several Presidencies, and with the splendid co-operation of missionary organizations.

It is a recognition of the fact, which sociology is making plain every day in its study of society, that crime is a social

product. Remove the temptation, bring the criminally inclined into a new environment, open up new interests for him, give him a new direction in life, and you will make a good citizen, an asset to the State, in the place of a former undesirable one.

The city of Sholapur is on the main line of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway between Madras and Bombay. It has a number of ruins, such as a huge Fort, and an old Hindu Temple recently unearthed. The population has reached 120,000. The city has six large cotton mills, one of which employs 5,000 work-people. These mills are organized and are run by Indian capital and management. Some Europeans are employed but only as Heads of Departments. These mills are an essential part of this moral reform scheme, for they give employment to numbers of the criminal people.

There are 40,000 of these tribesmen in the Bombay Presidency. In 1910 the new policy in reference to their treatment was initiated. Mr. O. H. B. Starte, I. C. S., was specially commissioned by the Government and set apart as the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer to work out a scheme of reform. Mr. Starte has made full use of experienced missionaries in this work. I had the privilege of meeting him in Bombay, and found him most interested in a similar line of work that is being done in the Madura District. He has sent his first Assistant down to South India to investigate this work. Mr. Starte has 12,000 of these people in eleven different settlements in the Bombay Presidency under his administrative control. But the actual management and work of several of these settlements are under the immediate direction of four Christian Missions. Mr. Strutton, the Superintendent of this work in Sholapur, is a missionary of the American Marathi Mission working under the American Board of Boston.

The policy that the Government is now pursuing is to take a tribe of these wandering criminals and send them to a settlement. In these settlements they are carefully supervised, found honest employment, given moral and religious instruction, and the children are put in school. In Sholapur the parents and young people work in the mills all day, earning good money, while the children go to school. At night all must return to their own huts within an enclosure and remain under strict police guard. If, after five years, a family shows no disposition to further crime they may be allowed to go to an approved occupation, or buy some land and cultivate it with the money they have been able to save from their mill employment. The whole idea is to win these people from idle lives of crime to an honest life of industry. The hope of the movement lies in saving the children.

Mr. Strutton has two such settlements under his supervision. There are 4,000 criminals in them, from seven different castes, and include false-coiners, women petty thieves, house-breakers, cattle-lifters, decoits and terrorizers, highway robbers, and train thieves, a really formidable lot, and some of them are dangerous characters. The Superintendent has a staff of 75 to look after these people. In the schools are 1,000 children undergoing instruction and vocational training. The settlement comprises 200 acres of land, the Government, with some grants from the mills, is meeting all the expenses of the settlement, including several new buildings now in course of erection. The total expenditure last year for this work in Sholapur was Rs. 275,000.

Great emphasis is placed on securing and training the boys for an honest and useful life. There is a vocational school where carpentry, masonry, tailoring, blacksmithing, weaving, tin and cane work are taught. When the boys

are old enough many of them go to the mills and earn high wages. When trained these boys are the equal of other boys, and at 16 or 17 years of age earn as much as 18 or 19 rupees a month. The aim is that every boy when he leaves school shall have an opportunity of learning a definite trade. There are three Scout Troups in the Settlement under a qualified Scout Master.

An annual Industrial and School Exhibition is held more as an object lesson to show these criminal tribesmen that their people can really do something worth while; this tends also to remove prejudice against them as a class on the part of the citizens who formerly feared these thieves and thought that nothing of any good could come from them; and it also gives these suspected people the right to lift up their heads, and opens for them a chance in life.

This whole movement of criminal reclamation is a wonderful piece of experimental work in social psychology. It is justifying itself in lessening crime, in finding useful and honest occupations for former criminals, and in saving the children. The work is most promising, because Government and Missions are co-operating in an effort to reform a whole community, and it is being done.

FOLKWAYS OF THE BALINESE*

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BALI, beautiful and enticing! At daybreak I awoke to find a golden dawn and a fairy shore close by. Blue water gently washed a shelving beach. Crowding down as close as possible to the ever beckoning sea were the silvery, bushy tops of the coco palms and peeping out from under them were the thatched huts of the little town of Boeileleng. In the background rose great sharp peaks wreathed in mist.

Brown natives wearing baticked *sarongs* squatted on the shore contemplating our arrival and several of the group sprang forward to assist in getting our *duffel* out of the boat. Our belongings were hustled up the width of strand to a little whitewashed building that turned out to be the customs house. There a genial Dutchman asked us if we carried any dutiable goods or firearms, all of which we denied and so were passed forthwith. We threw our traveling bags into a two-wheeled cart drawn by a tiny horse and climbed in after. The driver, though he knew no English, guessed that we were bound for the *pasangrahan* at Singaradja, the largest community on the northern shore.

As we jogged along a beautiful tree-lined road it did not take long to see that Bali has characteristics of her own. Most noticeable are the grotesque temple carvings, the

*EDITORIAL NOTE: On a recent trip around the world Mr. Lewerenz spent considerable time on the small island of Bali, just east of Java, studying the folkways of a people differing widely from our culture. This article consists of excerpts taken here and there from the diary kept by Mr. Lewerenz.

walled *campungs* or family compounds, and the attire of the Balinese. Men and women dress almost alike, wearing a *sarong* about the waist, gathered in front and falling to the ankles. On the head a batiked kerchief is worn. Nothing is worn on the upper part of the body, but the women will throw a bright colored shawl over their shoulders when under the blistering rays of the sun.

The natives possess physical grace to a high degree. Much of their symmetry of form has been attributed to their custom of carrying loads balanced on the head and steadied with one hand. This habit makes for an erect posture, slim arms, and well-built neck and shoulders.

Securing the services of several natives to carry our baggage, we crossed on foot the mountain range that forms the backbone of Bali. It was not more than thirty miles but the trails were steep and rough and our progress slow. Having reached the lowlands on the south side we made for the town of Den Pasar. Good roads soon appeared and a little later we were installed at the *pasangrahan*.

My companion and I found that the best way to see the country side was by bicycle, and so we rented wheels from a Chinese at the rate of a guilder (forty cents) a day. Den Pasar is situated some six miles inland and it was our desire to go first to the sea coast. Examining our map we selected a road running south to the Tafelnook peninsula.

Setting forth down the road we soon came to a cross-road where there is located a Balinese campanile. It is a structure of brick about fifty feet high, topped by a little wooden tower. Within are hung four logs of graduated size so hollowed out as to give a low musical tone when struck by a mallet, also of wood. The base of the tower is built of highly ornamented brick-work inset with blue plates of Chinese design. As the structure rises it recedes in size, being like a series of platforms, the one above be-

ing smaller than the next one below. To reach the "belfry" a long bamboo ladder is employed.

Cremation is the method of disposing of the dead according to the semi-Hindu beliefs of the Balinese. It appears, however, that some of the circumstances surrounding a cremation are on the order of an Irish wake. There is feasting, drinking, cock-fighting, gaming, and pageantry on what otherwise may be a very drear occasion. Naturally it is not everybody that can afford to have his funeral so celebrated. The result is that the deceased are embalmed to bide the time when some member of a rajah's or wealthy man's household passes on. When a person of note dies, a joint community funeral is held and the wealthy family stands the treat.

A great tower or funeral pyre is erected, the bodies are exhumed and are placed in the grotesque wooden replicas of horses, tigers, and dragons, which are in turn placed within the tower of tinder, all gay on the outside with bunting. At the appointed hour a torch sets the funeral tower aflame and it burns fiercely as the tremendous throng looks on in silence. Later, however, in other buildings put up for the occasion, the mourners are entertained with all the lavishness that the rank of the principal deceased calls for.

Our road led through a countryside of palm groves broken by clearings where rice and sugar cane were being grown. The tree-covered sections sheltered the snug thatch homes of the inhabitants. Many of the people line the road outside of the *campung* walls to sell eatables, exercise their fighting roosters, or just pass the time of day.

Women and children maintain the frequent food stalls, the proprietors ranging in age from the old hag who runs a sort of malayan lunch-stand to the little naked six-year-old urchin who is retailing short lengths of sugar cane from a basket, at one copper the piece.

Presently, on crossing a bridge over a little stream, we found ourselves in a little coast town. The few stores are in the hands of the ever-present Chinese who are the retail merchants and workers in a large part of the Far East. The road to the beach, a quarter of a mile distant, was sodded like a lawn almost to the ocean's edge.

Reaching the shore we looked out on the Indian Ocean. On a portion of the beach trees had been planted in the sand above high water. They had been set out in rows and having matured, their out-spreading branches created an excellent boathouse for the many canoes under their protection.

The native boats are dugouts with an outrigger on both sides. The bow is formed and carved to look like a fish with jaws fully extended as about to swallow an entire school of flying fish. The stem is shaped to give the appearance of a fish tail curled up behind. The front ends of the outrigger boats are decorated with carved serpent heads.

The beach looked hard and smooth so we continued down the shore on our wheels. Fishermen were stalking waist deep in the placid sea with casting nets while others tried their luck with hook and line from very small one-man canoes. When a net fisherman sighted the movements of a fish he would cautiously move to the spot holding his tent-like net in both arms. At the right moment, cow-boy fashion, he twisted the net above his head and flung it. The folds spread out and fell in the shape of a cone, point uppermost over the finny prey. Out at sea white canoes with triangular sails were slowly beating their way up coast, barely moving under the impetus of the lazy breeze.

After lunch we paid a visit to a native *pasar* or market. In a large enclosure there are half-a-dozen sheds of corrugated iron, but many of the goods are sold out in the open

or under little palm thatch shelters. Few men were about the place but it was packed with women and girls buying and selling.

In the dozens of little stalls a great variety of goods was being sold, such as sarongs, batik colorful shawls, brocaded strips, native-made silks, woven straw hats of various shapes, baskets to hold betelnut chew accessories, tobacco, grain, pottery utensils for cooking and for storing water, coconut meat, both dried and fresh, fish, poultry, ducks, piglets, game roosters, betelnut packets, native drinks, candies, and all sorts of food stuffs. An interesting variety of brass ware was on display in the booths of one section. Quaintly fashioned bolts and hinges, nut cutters, small bells for temple use, and food grinders are included. The food grinders are used principally by old folks who have lost their teeth. The food is put in the long tubular mortar and then ground up finely with a pestle until ready to be swallowed.

Toward sunset we again took our wheels and rode down a delightful path arched by majestic palms. We had not gone far before the dulcet tones of a gamelong orchestra attracted our attention.

Turning off to the side, we discovered a men's clubhouse near by where about twenty-five musicians were gathered to play while three dancing girls taught three younger pupils the movements of an intricate dance.

The music is of a pleasing, tinkling sound produced by metal percussion instruments, with the exception of the drums. One drummer, sitting out in front of the rest, keeps time and also indicates the melody to be played. About eighteen musicians were seated on the ground before xylophones mounted on heavy carved and gilded wooden bases. The individual instruments were of varying size, each with eight notes in its scale. Strikers like

small long-handled hammers of bone produce the metallic notes. Each man played with the utmost ease, apparently not paying any attention to what he was doing but nevertheless not missing a note-beat, or sudden dramatic pause when time and pitch would change.

While we were exploring an ancient temple two Balinese *Gusti* appeared carrying rather ornamental baskets on their heads. These women are accustomed to carrying their merchandise about with them from house to house and so we were interested to see what they had for sale.

From their baskets the *Gusti* produced a variety of things. Of greatest beauty and most use were hand-hammered silver bowls covered with a very intricate symbolic design. The silver is obtained from the coins of all countries, and gold primarily from United States eagles and double eagles that are imported for the purpose. Some very fine carved wood figures of ferocious design were produced. These images are used to frighten away evil spirits and hence are colored in bright and realistic fashion. Also, there were little brass bells such as the priests use in attracting the attention of the gods when about to pray. One can hear them tinkling almost always when one goes through a settlement at dusk.

Typically Balinese were scrolls showing ancient battle scenes done in gaudy colors, the chief figures having a golden shield for a background, much the shape of a holly leaf. The warriors are shown armed with bows, arrows, javelins, swords, pikes, and peculiar double-ended daggers with the grip in the middle.

The *Gusti* also had for sale knives with the handle and back of the blade decorated with images of grotesque beasts. Bracelets, which are looked upon as ornaments for arms and legs by both men and women, were to be seen in silver, stone, and wood. Batiks there were, sarongs and

scarfs such as the women throw over their bare shoulders as a protection from the burning rays of the sun or the chill of the evening. These woven materials are made in Bali though the brilliantly hued yarn comes from Germany.

Here in Bali the men appear to do but little work in the afternoon. Many of them squat along the edge of the road and fondle their pet game birds by the hour. For attire, around their hips they wear an artistic sarong and tied about their heads in the form of a jaunty turban a piece of brightly colored batik cloth. To this costume a white coat, and in extremely rare instances a soft collar and necktie may be added, while sometimes they will sport a cane. These latter are no doubt of the highest and wealthiest caste.

The women work the entire day through. I saw long lines of them carrying heavily loaded trays of pottery on their heads. They seldom talk to each other, and, because of their balancing work, must look straight ahead.

Men and women are rarely seen conversing together. Young men, however, go together in pairs chattering gaily to each other like a couple of school girls. Their hands and arms are interlaced and in their hair or in the pierced lobes of their ears they wear brilliant flowers.

Few babies are to be seen or heard in this prolific group. The infants are kept at home in the compounds and a number of infants are tended at one time by an older girl or an old woman.

Boys carry light loads such as grass for the cows and coconut shells filled with drinking water suspended from a shoulder-stick by cords. Men for the most part spend their time fishing or working their rice fields. Some men, too, using shoulder-sticks, transport bundles of unthreshed rice, hay, gravel and bricks.

Women, however, do most of the carrying, almost invariably putting the load on their heads. Common commodities that are handled in this manner are fruit, vegetables, pottery, temple offerings, empty petrol tins, stakes, coconut husks, cloth goods, and all the variety of stuffs sold in the bazaars which every day must be taken there.

In general the people seem not unhappy nor on the other hand spontaneous. There is a subdued passive quality about them which reminds one of the placid contentment of their cattle. Balinese eyes often sparkle merrily, but their faces are usually stolid and rather expressionless.

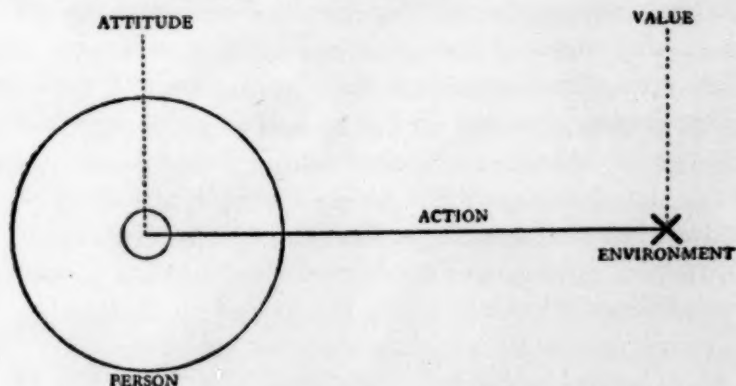
PERSONALITY AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTITUDES

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PERSONALITY is composed chiefly of attitudes. These attitudes are comprised of established tendencies to act with reference to various phases of the social environment. These phases thereby become values—the correlatives of specific attitudes. The connecting element between an attitude and a value is action, and the whole unit—attitude, action, value—is behavior, or a personal behavior pattern.

Action is not only the evidence of an attitude, but apparently is the medium in or through which attitudes develop. In action an individual learns to respond dependably with reference to stimuli furnished by environmental “objects” or “values.” The accompanying diagram illustrates the important rôle of action:



Out of action that is repeated many hours daily in an occupation develop attitudes that may be called *occupational attitudes*. Not only the largest part of the day but the best part for most people is devoted to occupational activities. Moreover, occupational activities are compelling, for they enable people to live, to be self-supporting, and to maintain social and economic status in highly competitive situations. By means of them, people "make money," buy a wide range of the desirables of life, satisfy the inherited urges for security and recognition, for new experience and social response, and attain "success" or "failure." Hence, occupational activities take a front place in people's lives and give rise to the principle of *occupational dominance*.

The dominating rôle that occupation plays in the development of personality has never been clearly understood. The way in which occupation "stigmatizes the movements and habitual posture of the body," and "determines certain exterior traits in one's face and appearance," has been summarized by P. Sorokin; for instance: "The too-much powdered face of actresses and prostitutes, the tonsure of Roman Catholic priests, the long hair and beard of Greek-Orthodox ecclesiastics, the bronzed color of the faces of farmers and people working out-of-doors, and the pale facial color of many indoor occupational groups, such are a few examples of numerous facts of this kind."¹

Occupation is doing. It has an action psychology. Occupation is behavior. It creates countless behavior patterns. In an occupation a person spends hours daily perfecting behavior patterns, not as such, but for objective occupational gains. A considerable portion of a person's neuro-muscular mechanisms originate in occupational

¹ *Social Mobility* (Harpers, 1927), p. 320.

activities. The driving of a mule team leads to the fixation of slow-moving physico-mental patterns, while the daily "driving of sharp bargains" develops quick-moving psychosocial patterns. The correcting of children's mistakes in language and manners, in arithmetic and social behavior, leads to mistake-correcting patterns.

Favorable experiences in an occupation together with favorable reflection regarding one's occupation produces *occupational-centrism*.² An occupation comes to occupy the center of a person's life. His whole being revolves about his occupation. He neglects his family; or she, her home, for the sake of the occupation. Occupational-centrism is ultra occupational dominance.

Accompanying occupational-centrism is the expressed belief that one's occupation is the best in the world. Doing things with increased success in a given occupation, brings an emotional enthusiasm that blurs one's perspective and evaluative ability. A person who "succeeds" not only "talks shop" but soon begins to boast. He "talks" his occupation, and "gives away" his inner conviction that "his occupation" is superior to that of all or most other occupations. This type of generalized occupational attitude may be called *occupational positivism*.

By a reverse psychological process, unfavorable experiences in an occupation and unfavorable reflection regarding one's occupation leads to what has been called *occupational negativism*.³ The dislike for one's occupation takes a pathological turn,—if one can escape neither the occupation nor its unpleasant features. Where no change can be made, then: "It's lumber—sticks, boards, wood, wood, wood, all the time. Your brain becomes like a block of

² Cf. "The Occupational Attitude," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII:171-77.

³ From manuscript by Pauline V. Young.

wood when you sort and grade month after month. It's things of that sort that make a fellow irritable, fagged out at the end of the day."⁴

A woman working under sweatshop conditions cries out:

Oh! but for one short hour!
A respite however brief
No blessed leisure for love or hope,
But only time for Grief!
A little weeping would ease my heart,
But in their briny bed
My tears must stop, for every drop
Hinders needle and thread.⁵

A *pure occupational attitude* is one arising after a person enters a given occupation and is a direct result of a specific type of occupational activity. When this has overthrown earlier and opposite tendencies, excellent proof is thus afforded that a genuine occupational attitude has developed. A good example is afforded by the otherwise socially careless person who develops a "fighting-evil" attitude after entering the ministry; or by the young business man who goes into college teaching and then develops a "superior-to-money" attitude. As a "successful" teacher he refuses a salary nearly twice his previous income, because he is "making character not money now."

Many pure or intra-occupational attitudes develop naturally and directly out of native impulses and behavior patterns. "I like business," says a young man trained in a minister's family where service ideals predominate, "because of the joy I get from handling money. I like to receive and pay out large sums of money, in short, to put over big deals and make a neat return on my labor and

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ From Thomas Hood, "The Song of the Shirt."

skill. There is always something new and exciting happening at every turn."

The *a priori* phase of occupational attitudes is often easily discernible. A preacher who usually takes an argumentative attitude in his sermons was a pugnacious boy. In his school days he was in nearly every "fist-fight in the neighborhood." As the leader of a gang he held his position because of his fighting proclivities. "Whenever anybody was picked on, I always became his champion."

An attitude is often a conditioned reflex, or more likely a conditioning of an attitude previously held. *Conditioned occupational attitudes*⁶ are frequently earlier attitudes modified or conditioned by occupational activities. When a person changes from one occupation to another, many of the new occupational attitudes are conditioned attitudes originating in the first occupation.

Pure or intra-occupational attitudes of a specific nature tend to become synthesized. A *synthesized occupational attitude* is composed of a set or of sets of occupational attitudes molded into a point of view, a form of "mindedness," a philosophy of life. A routine-mindedness, a revolt-mindedness of oppressed coal miners, an absent-mindedness of college professors, an unsocial-mindedness of research workers, a superficial but wide awake-mindedness of news reporters, a diplomacy-mindedness of politicians—all these illustrate synthesized occupational attitudes. Only a small amount of reflection enters in as a rule. When these synthesized attitudes assume general proportions they illustrate occupational dominance, as when a person because of his occupational experiences develops a cynical or a belief philosophy of life.

Reflective occupational attitudes, as the term implies, involve a judgment regarding the strong and weak points

⁶ From manuscript by Pauline V. Young.

of one's occupation. The introvertive type of person is likely to reflect much concerning his occupation. Reflective attitudes are stock-taking attitudes. The favorable illustrate occupational positivism; the unfavorable, occupational negativism. They are likely to be both positive and negative, and evaluative. For example: "I'm in a non-money-making profession, but there is a good deal of freedom. I don't have to stake all. I don't have to worry. No one will ever get rich in my calling, but I'm earning enough to live on and to save something for a rainy day. I love freedom, and my occupation gives me enough—all that is good for me." Another person says: "I'm too old to change now. My farm will keep me from starving. I'll never have to sit around, out of a job like L. is doing since he moved to town. The work here is hard, but I'd rather die working, than rusting out, wouldn't you?"

A person often possesses *interdependent occupational attitudes*. Attitudes develop integratively in connection with a person's non-remunerative and remunerative activities. His family and occupational attitudes may become inseparable, or his religious and occupational activities, or his maintenance-of-social-status and occupational activities. It may be impossible to disentangle even contradictory attitudes. "Teaching enables me to enjoy my home. R. is on the road so much that he sees his family only on week-ends. I don't care if he is getting twice as much recognition as I am. I am keeping a daily record of my children's activities and development, and then I make regular use of this record in teaching my psychology classes."

Occupational attitudes continue to function long after one has left his life occupation, that is, after he has retired; they often "dominate" in varying degrees his closing years

of life. As such they may be called a *posteriori occupational attitudes*. The retired farmer continues to rise at five o'clock and to go to bed at nine or earlier. The retired business man becomes restless and peevish "with nothing big to put over." The clerk, adding figures all day for a life-time finds that eternity becomes mathematical, or as the poet has said:

Two and two are four; four and three are seven—
That is all that he can say where he sits in Heaven;
Two and two are four; four and three are seven—
Through the long celestial day.⁷

As a process, an occupational attitude thus may be viewed as a series of *stages*, involving important changes. In the first place there may or may not be (1) an *a priori* stage, which is represented by an earlier occupational attitude, by some other social attitude, or by some general innate tendency. Even a pure occupational attitude probably is a conditioned aptitude or innate tendency. (2) Unconscious occupational reactions may become conscious, and an occupational attitude enters a *reflective* stage, in which work conditions are judged good or bad. (3) After a person has been in an occupation for some time and has become definitely successful or unsuccessful, his various sets of occupational attitudes tend to *synthesize* into a philosophy of life. (4) At any point in the process, an occupational attitude may become inextricably bound up with other types of attitudes and present an *interdependent* nature. (5) After a person leaves an occupation, his occupational behavior follows him, and an *a posteriori* stage is reached.

⁷ "The Clerk," by Scudder Middleton. (See Branthwaite, *Anthology of Magazine Verse*, 1916.)

Editorial Announcement

THE JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY and the BULLETIN OF SOCIAL RESEARCH, both emanating from the Department of Sociology of the University of Southern California, have been combined, and in this initial joint issue appear under the integrated title, SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH. No group of students of sociology is more interested in this new departure than are the members of Alpha Kappa Delta, Sociology Scholarship Society.

The gradual development of applied sociology has demonstrated clearly the great need for advances in social research and has indicated that with the functioning of more and better research the limitations upon the progress of applied sociology are removed. At the present time the numerical relationship between the many persons actively interested in the field of applied sociology and the few pioneers engaged in social research is unfortunately disproportionate. And yet productive research is the very basis of a sound applied sociology. In fact, there can be no applied sociology except there be scientific research findings that may be utilized and applied.

This new publication necessitates no changes in the policies now being pursued in the two parent periodicals. In 1921, Miss Alice Fesler, president of the Southern California Sociological Society, joint sponsor with the University of Southern California for the JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY, announced the policy of that publication of interpreting the term, "applied sociology," after the manner of Lester F. Ward. That is, "applied sociology is not government or politics, nor cure or social reform. It does not itself apply sociological principles; it seeks only to show how they may be applied. The most that it claims to do is to lay down certain general principles as guides to social and political action." This policy will be maintained.

The policies inaugurated in the early issues of the BULLETIN OF SOCIAL RESEARCH will likewise be continued. Significant pieces of research will be published, and syntheses of these made as occasion may require. There will also be printed descriptions and analyses of social problems, of the processes whereby problems are reduced

and solved, of changes in social attitudes and values, and of social conflict situations. Increased attention will be given to the publication of materials concerning social life and processes in many different parts of the world; the cultures and peoples of the world will be a laboratory. It is clearly evident that a better technique than is now available is prerequisite to advances of research in the social science field; hence, special attention will be given to the improvements in methods of social research. By social research is meant, at present, synthetic use of statistics, case study procedure, culture pattern analysis, community approach, social attitudes analysis, and personality analysis. Withal, a philosophic background will be maintained, for he who is most statistical, mechanistic, and behavioristic in his research, is likely to lose something of the meaning of human and societal life.

The staff of co-operating editors from the United States and from other countries will be augmented. The encouragement of these editors in the past has been greatly appreciated, and their participation in the future will be of even larger significance.

Such, then, are to be the policies of this journal,—scientific in procedure, philosophic in background, international in scope,—combining research and practice.

As Alpha Kappa Delta has been of aid in the past in the sponsoring of the JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY and the BULLETIN OF SOCIAL RESEARCH, so, in the future, may the Society be depended upon to offer interested and enthusiastic support for this new and enlarged enterprise, pursuing the open motto of the organization,—scientific study of social problems in the interest of human welfare.

FRANCES S. LUCAS

*President, Southern California Chapter
of Alpha Kappa Delta*

Book Notes

THE PULSE OF PROGRESS. By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON.
Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926, pp. vii+341.

In this attractively printed volume the great Yale climatologist has acceded to the suggestion of his friends and written a brief summary of those ideas of man and his environment which were hitherto to be found scattered through a dozen volumes from his pen. It is written without footnotes, in a very lucid, convincing style, and contains several maps and charts.

The author's purpose is, first, "to explain the workings of some of the chief factors of physical environment and biological inheritance; second, to show how the workings of these factors are connected with one another and with cultural changes; and, third, to discuss a few examples which show how physical environment, biological inheritance, and cultural progress have worked together to produce the fluctuations of history" (pp.1-2).

In the opening chapter, entitled "The Rhythm of Progress and Decay," Dr. Huntington illustrates his proposition by a fascinating description of the migrations of the lemmings of Norway, supplemented with reference to the fluctuations of other forms of animal life, and to certain human phenomena. After a chapter on "The Handicap of Poor Land," he treats "Migrations in the United States." This chapter, which is exceedingly informing and suggestive, consists of an effort to correlate certain facts in *Who's Who in America* with environmental factors. Dr. Huntington's idea is that the varying tendency to migration shown by various occupations is correlated with the conditions governing those occupations. The rate of migration, which ranges from least with farmers and government officials to greatest among educators and religious leaders, is found to depend upon the extent to which any occupation requires, for its successful prosecution, intimate knowledge of the people and ways of the local community. This, it will be observed, is not a climatological, or even a geographical factor. It is social, and indeed the whole chapter will prove highly suggestive to the student of sociology and culture history.

Other chapters treat of nomadism, the sifting power of cities, and with the influence of the weather. A very interesting chapter is entitled "Climate and Temperament."

Five chapters (XII to XVI) are devoted to a geographical interpretation of the history of Israel and the Jews, in which the Bible account is very carefully reviewed in the light of environment as the determining factor in the history of this people, which Huntington boldly proclaims as "probably the greatest of races." This portion of the book is the outcome of a course of lectures to Sunday School teachers, given in 1925, on the Geography of Palestine. The author says that "the results were so illuminating and surprising that it seemed worth while to use the Jews as the main illustration of this volume" (Preface, p. vi.). In connection with Israel in Egypt, Dr. Huntington presents a discussion of the intermarriage of close kindred, supplementing it with a detailed study of the great Egyptian Dynastic lines regarded as the product of very close consanguineous marriages.

The author is right in holding that the book is of use for sociology and philosophy of history as well as geography. C. M. C.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY INTERPRETED. By J. W. SPROULS.
The Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1927, pp. xii + 268.

As the title implies, the book presents and evaluates the various contributions already made. Attention is given the planes and currents school, the cultural product school, the group mind school, the instinct school, and the habit school. The point of view is that of a broad-minded psychologist. While the sociological approach to social psychology is given recognition, it naturally does not receive complete attention. Such a sociological exponent of social psychology as Professor C. H. Cooley, for example, receives little space.

Social psychology is explained as "that science which accounts for behavior due to interaction among individuals." It is distinguished from group psychology which accounts "for behavior due to individual attitudes and practices in the presence of many forms of culture." The author discusses both the "methods" and "laws" of social psychology, and concludes that the whole subject is in an inchoate state.

E. S. B.

NEGRO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES. By CHARLES H. WESLEY. The Vanguard Press, New York, 1927, pp. 343.

We have heard much of the Negro as a loafer, but "the study of the Negro as a laborer . . . has been left to the realms of personal opinion, unsupported assertion and public discussion." "The purpose of this study is to present a survey of the development and transition of Negro Labor in the United States from the period of slavery to the period of the entrance of Negroes into industrial occupations in large numbers." This the author does with such scholarly thoroughness that one is able to resolve the loafing-labor complex into something of an accurate estimate of the true position of the Negro in the field of labor. The conclusions regarding the free Negro and the Reconstruction Negro are particularly illuminating. "However pleasant such oratory may be, statements which begin with the assertion that all the Negroes were poor in 1865 are not only exaggerated but untrue descriptions of the economic situation. In the same category will fall those statements which claim that Negro labor was on a 'holiday' during Reconstruction." Equally helpful is the historical presentation of the part played by the Negro in Organized Labor, and the analysis of Negro migrations, past and recent. Complete with adequate tables, index, and bibliography, this little fifty-cent, cloth bound volume offers much of value regarding the basic economic foundation of Negro activities. N. N. Puckett.

IMMIGRANT BACKGROUNDS. Edited by HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1927, pp. x+269.

In addition to the editor's introductory chapter the book contains fourteen chapters dealing with fourteen races by fourteen different writers, and one chapter devoted to "Other Peoples." In answering the question: What is an immigrant background? the editor points to "group characters" or factors such as physical kinship, language, religion, political system, etc. A high-water mark is reached by certain of the contributors, for example, by H. G. Leach, who in writing about the Scandinavians, suggests that we do not urge the immigrants to adopt "the excrescences of that nervous American life which craves slang, jazz, chewing gum, mileage, tabloids, and the movies, that we do not hurry them into the melting pot, that we do not criticize them too severely for remaining among us for one or two generations in segregated groups." Many of the chapters in this otherwise useful book are quite too short.

AMERICAN MASTERS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE. Edited by HOWARD W. ODUM. Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1927, pp. vii+411.

This book contains a valuable record of the rise of American social science. Three sociologists are included in the total list of nine. Each biographical account is written by a distinguished pupil or friend of the subject, and hence a constructive and favorable evaluation is made. Ward is presented by Dealey, Small by Hayes, and Giddings by Gillin.

The "masters of social science" turn out in nearly every case to be strong individualists, pioneers, men capable for the most part of doing many things well. Both their social science contributions and their personality traits are summarized. The special value of the book is not found so much in the individual sketches, for these contain materials that are pretty well known, but in the bringing together within handy compass of important materials for comparative study in analyzing some of the origins of American social science.

SOCIAL MOBILITY. By PITIRIM A. SOROKIN. Harper & Bros., pp. xvii+559.

In this study of social stratification and of vertical social mobility, chiefly of the "upward" sort, the author selects three major types of stratification and social organization, namely, economic, political, and occupational. He discusses the "channels," such as the army, the church, the family, and political organizations, by which persons may rise vertically. He then describes present-day society in terms of the actual "circulation" of people that is taking place, and concludes with a discussion of the results of social mobility in terms of human behavior and social order. The treatment throughout is objective and statistical. Case studies of human attitudes and the explanation of these in particular instances of social mobility are not attempted. The treatment follows the premises laid down in the beginning in a logical and enlightening fashion. Many problems for further research are uncovered.

E. S. B.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF REVOLUTION. By LYFORD P. EDWARDS. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927, pp. xiii+229.

The sociology of revolution is well handled; revolution is treated as an evolutionary process, with stages that follow one another and with characteristic cycles of social change. Case studies are the

sources which reveal the revolutionary process. The slow development at first, preliminary symptoms of unrest, economic incentives, the rôle of social myths, the outbreak, the reign of terror, the return to normality, and the next revolution—is the general sequence. The discussion of social myth is one of the most important sections. Both the author and Dr. R. E. Park who writes the Preface agree in the main that revolutions are largely economic and that "if we could control the economic and industrial processes, revolution as a social phenomenon would cease."

E. S. B.

PRINCIPLES OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By G. A. LUNDQUIST and T. N. CARVER. Ginn & Company, New York, 1927, pp. vii+484.

In this new addition to the rapidly increasing literature on rural sociology the reader will find a practical, common-sense treatment of rural conditions and problems. The background is American rural life, and as such, the book is a treatise in social history. Rural education, the rural church, rural recreation, rural restlessness, rural leadership, rural economic pressure—these are the major topics presented. How rural people think, how they feel and how rural customs originate, are the themes of the most interesting chapters. Many readers will feel that the title is not accurately chosen on the grounds that "principles" are not emphasized and that the discussions are not technically sociological. The social interpretations, however, are sane and helpful.

EARLY MENTAL TRAITS OF THREE HUNDRED GENIUSES. By CATHERINE M. COX. Volume II in *Genetic Studies of Genius*, edited by Lewis Terman. Stanford University Press, 1927, pp. xviii+842.

After careful research into the biographies of 301 "great men and women" who lived between the years 1450 and 1850, the author concludes that youths who achieve eminence have in general a heredity above the average, superior advantages in early environment, a high I. Q., persistence of motive and effort, confidence in their abilities, and great strength or force of character.

THE COST OF LIVING IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. National Conference Board, New York, 1927, pp. xv+402.

Sets forth the general principles underlying the construction of index numbers in more than thirty countries regarding the cost of living.

- SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN A RURAL NEW ENGLAND TOWN.** By J. L. HYPES. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1927, pp. ix+102. This is an interesting and stimulating monograph, based on studies of Lebanon Township, Connecticut, in terms of individual-hours of attendance in primary groups, exclusive of the family. A family participation index is also used.
- THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SOCIAL ORDER.** By JOSEPH A. LEIGHTON. D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1926, pp. xix+578. Ranks as a readable history of social ethics, dealing also with social democracy, social education, social religion, and world community, and supplementing a scientific sociology by a normative science of ethics.
- THE PUBLIC HOUSE.** By ERNEST SELLEY. Longmans, Green & Company, New York, 1927, pp. v+183. The widespread public house habit, or the "drink shop" habit in England is built up by gigantic private profit-making concerns playing upon the human desire for social response—this is only one of a number of interesting conclusions.
- APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY.** By A. T. POFFENBERGER. D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1927, pp. xx+586. Contains an excellent presentation of many of the different studies which have been made that measure the various traits of personality and a helpful discussion of these in relation to occupational attitudes.
- THE REVOLT OF ASIA.** By UPTON CLOSE. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1927, pp. xiii+325. A popular discussion of the revolt of Asia against "the white man's political rule, the imposition of his culture and religion," and "his arrogant assumption of social superiority."
- THE ADVANCING SOUTH.** By EDWARD MIMS. Doubleday, Page & Company, Garden City, 1926, pp. xviii+319. Fourth edition. An account on a high literary and intellectual plane of the social advances of, and of the social problems yet remaining in, the South.
- FORMS OF INDIVIDUALITY.** By E. JORDAN. C. W. Laut & Company, Indianapolis, 1927, pp. 469. A philosophical and logical approach to social theory based on personal and individual life rather than on group life, and containing a vigorous criticism of sociology.
- FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL LIFE.** By H. P. FAIRCHILD. John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1927, pp. vii+287. Gives a clear-cut background for social science courses, dealing with geographic, biologic, and social environmental factors.
- THE PUBLIC MIND.** By NORMAN ANGELL. E. P. Dutton & Company, New York, 1927, pp. x+232. A discussion of the weaknesses of "the public mind," of how it is exploited, and a plea that "human nature" be conquered.
- THE DISINHERITED FAMILY.** By ELEANOR F. RATHBONE. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1927. Third edition. A plea for direct provision for the costs of child maintenance through Family Allowances.
- PROCEEDINGS OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.** Edited by K. C. Leebrick and J. E. Harley. University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1927, pp. 181.
- THE CARE OF THE PATIENT.** By F. W. PEABODY. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1927, pp. 48.
- NEW YORK AT SCHOOL.** By JOSEPHINE CHASE. Public Education Association, 1927, pp. 268.

- THE RELATION OF NATURE TO MAN IN ABORIGINAL AMERICA.** By CLARK WISSLER. Oxford University Press, New York, 1926, pp. xx+248. Considers the American Indians in relation to certain more or less restricted environments, from an ecological viewpoint.
- VOCATIONS FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS.** By CHARLES M. MILLS. The Ronald Press, New York, 1927, pp. viii+328. A survey of the vocation provisions for industrial workers by employers in the various countries of the world from a historical standpoint.
- THE AMERICAN POOR FARM AND ITS INHABITANTS.** By HARRY C. EVANS. The Yeoman Shield, Des Moines, 1926, pp. 119. Sums up in telling fashion all the century-old charges against this antiquated institution which still continues its disgraceful existence.
- THE ECONOMIC THEORY OF THE LEISURE CLASS.** By N. BUKHARIN. International Publishers, New York, 1927, pp. 220. A criticism of the bourgeois economics from the standpoint of proletariat economics.
- HOW WE BECOME PERSONALITIES.** By E. H. WILLIAMS. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1926, pp. 295. Not a book on "becoming personalities" but on the endocrine glands, and how they function.
- THE ABILITIES OF MAN.** By C. SPEARMAN. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, pp. vi+415. A philosophical discussion of intelligence, special abilities, mental energy, efficiency, mind and body.
- SECURING EMPLOYMENT FOR THE HANDICAPPED.** By MARY LADAME. Welfare Council of New York City, 1927, pp. 133. A study of placement agencies for the handicapped in New York City.
- RECREATIONAL LEADERSHIP FOR BOYS.** By WILLIAM R. LAPORTE. The Methodist Book Concern, New York, 1927, pp. 137. Presents a well-balanced program for boys' work.
- JOHN THE COMMON WEAL.** By H. N. MACCRACKEN. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1927, pp. 117. Discusses the social citizen and his opportunities.
- MANUAL OF PSYCHIATRY.** Edited by A. J. ROSANOFF. John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1927. Sixth edition. Extensively rewritten and enlarged. An outstanding treatise.
- INSTITUTIONS AND PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY.** By CHARLES H. RINHART. Anaheim, California. A Social Science Manual and Question Outline.
- MODERN PARENTHOOD.** Proceedings of the Southern California Conference. Southern California Society for Mental Hygiene, Los Angeles, 1927, pp. 312.
- THE LITTLE TOWN.** By H. P. DOUGLASS. Revised Edition. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, pp. ix+262. American village life analyzed.
- SEX DIFFERENCES IN THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN SCHOOL CHILDREN.** By E. A. LINCOLN. Warwick and York, 1927, pp. xii+189.
- RELIGION AS MAN'S COMPLETION. A Socio-Religious Study.** By RUDOLPH M. BINDER. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1927, pp. 397.
- THE TIRED CHILD.** By MAX SEHAN and GRETE SEHAN. J. P. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1927, pp. xvi+342.
- SHELL SHOCK AND ITS AFTERMATH.** By NORMAN FENTON. C. V. Mosby Company, St. Louis, 1926, pp. 173.
- AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.** By F. A. CLEVELAND. The Ronald Press, New York, 1927, pp. vii+475.

Periodical Notes

The Culture-Area Concept in Social Anthropology. Biological and social sciences are following anthropology in the development of the culture-area concept which is founded upon the belief that "there are regional differences in material culture, and also in social behavior and that social evolution is itself regional." Two problems involved are, first, the ecological one, and second, the determination of "how the tribal group functions in the area or community." Clark Wissler, *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1927, pp. 881-891.

The Ethics of Birth Control. Among objections to birth control are that it emphasizes the grosser aspects of sex, isolating it from its natural controls and correctives, love and parenthood, and that it develops the self-regarding rather than unselfish aspects. However, modern conditions give us sex energies in excess of race survival needs and to thwart their sublimation may court conflict and neurosis. "The attitude that sex . . . is a natural basis for communion, affection, and enjoyment which civilization can refine, enrich, and conserve . . . is essentially more honest and fearless and more in conformity with the facts." Thomas D. Eliot, *The Sociological Review*, July, 1927, pp. 239-250.

The Problem of Measuring Social Treatment. The measurement of effectiveness of social treatment and the study of causes of success and failure challenge the social work profession. *Delinquents and Criminals*, by William Healy and Augusta Bronner illustrates such an attempted measurement. The histories of 1,720 repeated juvenile offenders from Boston and Chicago afford basic material. The authors conclude that "the treatment of juvenile delinquency by some prevailing methods is followed by an amount and extremity of failure that is appalling." Miss Claghorn questions the greater number of failures attributed to Chicago because variant factors of importance are overlooked. The study is, however, a valuable beginning in the field of social measurements. Kate Holladay Claghorn, *The Social Service Review*, June, 1927, pp. 181-193.

Professional Workers and Organization. The gradual organization of professional workers towards a trade union brings a new attitude of mind and a new possibility of control within reach of the worker's movement. . . . "If industrial democracy is to be established without . . . a violent social upheaval, it will be because both professional and manual workers have realized their community of interests and ideals." . . . G. W. Thompson, *The Sociological Review*, July, 1927, pp. 208-217.

Whither Social Work? Social work today is characterized by its closer alliance with social work departments of universities, greater emphasis upon statistical study, and clearer and more courageous interpretation to the public of facts gathered. The *method* of social work is applicable and valuable to the solution of world problems. The conception of the family as an integrated group of mutually dependent free personalities, if extended to international relations, is infinite in possibilities. Arthur Evans Wood, *The Survey*, April 15, 1927, pp. 74-75.

Techniques in Case Work. When the component parts of a "process" can no longer be subdivided the stage of isolating techniques is reached. After isolation, the given technique is named to make possible the comparing of experiences. The next step is to use the technique in varying circumstances until it becomes a part of the worker's natural equipment, and, finally, the teaching of successful techniques to other people. Some 86 different techniques have been isolated and named which have been successfully used in family case work. Pearl Salsberry, *The Family*, July, 1927,, pp. 155-157.

The American Stake in China. America has a mission investment of eighty millions and a business investment of seventy millions in China. What will the future of these two great enterprises be? "There are indications that, while China has much to learn from western civilization, she does not propose to swallow our institutions whole." Our paternalistic attitude of the past must be abandoned. "The colossal awakening to its birthright of a fourth of the human race puts into discard our old mental patterns and demands from us a rethinking of racial questions." J. Stewart and Stella F. Burgess, *The Survey*, May, 1927, pp. 135-138.

Human Nature and Collective Behavior. Humans differ in behavior from animals in that their actions are not natural and spontaneous, but controlled by custom and convention. Each individual pictures for himself a rôle and then consciously attempts to play it within the group. This subjectivity is a condition and product of collective life. Robert E. Park, *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1927, 733-41.

Some Causes of the Bread Line. A study of 653 men to whom assistance was given in New York City from September to December leads to the conclusion that in addition to formal and vocational instruction, these men are in need of some sort of social instruction. One of the chief causes of failure found was lack of "sociality" or ability to get along with their fellows and employers. As one aspect of personality its development is essential. A. O. Bowden, *Social Forces*, March, 1927, pp. 507-9.

The Need for Interpretation of Trends and Accomplishments in Family Social Work. The distance between social scientists and social reformers in the field of theory and social case workers in the field of practice is lessening. The field of research offers them a common meeting ground. Family social case workers are already realizing the need for interpreting trends in order to relate methods to varying factors. Three manifest reasons for an interpretation of accomplishment are (1) for the sake of the clients, (2) accountability to the community, and (3) for the sake of professional progress. Dorothy C. Kahn, *The Family*, July, 1927, pp. 148-153.

The Civil War and the Crime Wave of 1865-70. Four conclusions are available from criminal statistics during and after the Civil War period: (1) Marked and general decrease in number of male prisoners during the war years; (2) increase in number of female prisoners; (3) increase in number of children in prison; (4) marked increase in number of commitments of men to prison during the years following the war. It is interesting to note society's changed attitude toward male prisoners before the war and the young "veteran" prisoner after the war. There was a genuine desire to get the veterans out and to improve prison conditions in gratitude for their service to the nation. Edith Abbott, *The Social Service Review*, June, 1927, pp. 212-234.

Social Research Notes

(*These Notes are prepared from the Reports made before the meetings of the Social Research Society and the Sociology Scholarship Society, Alpha Kappa Delta, of the University of Southern California. They constitute materials such as were formerly published in the *Bulletin of Social Research*.)

DR. ERNEST W. BURGESS of the University of Chicago spoke on "Statistical and Case Study Methods of Social Research," at the July meeting of Alpha Kappa Delta at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Clarence Marsh Case. Scientific procedure in sociology dates back to the publication of Sumner's *Folkways*, in 1906, which based its generalizations on concrete materials freely gathered. The prestige of statistics as the one scientific procedure has often led in sociology to a naïve and unwarranted application of quantitative measurement to mental and social phenomena. Statistics are valuable in making comparisons, in showing correlations between two variables, and in delving into the cruder, more extensive aspects of human behavior. Statistics are based on an atomistic conception of society, namely, that society is an aggregation of relatively independent individuals, and that it is a mere sum total of its component individuals. The case-study method calls for an organic concept of society, that is, it accepts the premises that society and its members are products of social interaction. The case-study method was emancipated from the dominance of statistics by journalism, social work, psychiatry, and cultural anthropology. Thomas and Znaniecki were among the first to introduce case study as a method of sociological research. In case study, a case is treated as a specimen of some species or other, as representative of some type. Case-study has its own criteria of excellence, and is complementary to social statistics. The paper by Professor Burgess will be published in full in the November-December issue of the JOURNAL.

"THE SOCIAL MEANINGS OF ADULT EDUCATION" as discussed by Miss Ethel Richardson, assistant superintendent of public instruction of the State of California, and winner of the one thousand dollar Harmon prize for having done an outstanding, significant piece of social work, was unusually thought-provoking. Adult education is

a struggle to get a new kind of freedom. It is freedom from the prejudices and superstitions of the past. We build skyscrapers, but still omit the thirteenth floor. Adult education is leisure to do deliberative thinking. It is not the closing of people's minds to all types of thinking except your own. Its major purpose is to offer training in deliberative and critical thinking. It brings a renaissance of the joy of learning, of learning freed from compulsion. Some things we learn better as adults than as youths. Adult education is not simply making up for defects; it gives the meaning of the universe and of life to mature people with experience. It trains adult life for one of its main businesses, the business of nation building. It trains adults for parenthood. It utilizes the best learning period of life which centers around the age of twenty-five, and then slowly tapers off.

"POETRY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH" was the theme presented in July before the Research Society by Professor Read Bain of Miami University. Poetry may be viewed sometimes as the mouthpiece of the group, and hence may reveal the general ideas that prevail in the group. Both science and poetry are characterized by flashes of insight, but science knows what not to imagine. Poetry has to be rewritten in accordance with the changes in social life, hence on the whole it lags behind culture. Many poets who are considered great, such as Homer and Milton, are not read today because communal habits and actions have changed. People read poetry which increases their joys and stimulates their emotions, hence it is important to know who constitute a poet's public. Beside the major poets who write for the few, there are other poets who write for the masses. Research into the poetry for the masses will reveal the attitudes of the masses, the depressed classes, immigrants. Research into what poetry the masses read and recite will be revealing. Dr. Bain's stimulating paper is published in full in this issue of the JOURNAL.

A NUMBER of studies of Mexican communities in the Southwest are now being conducted. At the July meeting of the Social Research Society, Mr. H. A. R. Carleton reported upon a pathfinder survey made of a Mexican community where there is an attempt by the higher class Americans to dislodge the Mexican colony through condemning the area occupied by the Mexicans for park purposes. The Mexicans arrived before the "Americans"; they occupy the original town site; a number are American-born and hence citizens; a few

own the property they occupy. The culture traits of many of them, however, have stood still, while the surrounding territory has been developed as home-sites for well-to-do Americans. Reports are abroad concerning "the undesirable traits" of the Mexicans, but many of these reports are not found to be true. Other Mexicans living on the estates of Americans and employed by the latter do not seem to be undesirable. In the meantime, the colony is awaiting developments which involve plans to locate them nearby in the vicinity of the American community.

IN THE Report made by Helen Walker on Mexican studies, three Mexican communities located in different areas of an American community were described. Since none of these colonies occupies conspicuous territory near the center of the city, or land desired for home-sites by wealthy Americans, there is no organized opposition to the Mexicans. Three different levels of Mexican culture are represented by these colonies. Colony A discloses low standards and very poor living conditions. Colony B is distinctly higher and possesses an active life. Many of its young people when they marry move to Colony C which is being built up by them, and which constitutes an area of second settlement. There is more mobility in this group than in any of the others, and hence more unrest. An American woman gives her whole time in this group to settling disputes and preventing the rise of conflicts.

International Notes

AVIATION from moving ships was furthered by Chamberlain's successful flight from the Leviathan in early August. The distance between Europe and America thus bids fair to be shortened by at least a day's journey. The world shrinks once more.

A FLYING BATTLESHIP is announced. While diplomats are discussing possibilities of land and sea disarmament, battleships take unto themselves wings and elude the diplomats. Material inventions, even giants of destruction, become realities without the aid of international conferences or of any extensive social organization. Meanwhile, spiritual inventions such as the necessary organizations and leagues for promoting good will lag behind.

THE LIMITATIONS OF ARMAMENT CONFERENCE of 1927 suffered a poor start when France and Italy refused to participate. The defense needs for a widely scattered British Empire receives most of the blame, in the eyes of the public, for the seeming failure of the Conference. The whole proceedings, however, are a testimony to the fact that disarmament cannot proceed faster than national and world-wide prejudices will permit. With economic competition raging, with national jealousies aflame, with religious bodies split asunder, development of genuine co-operative activities in the daily phases of economic, national, and religious life the world around is basic to any extensive program of disarmament.

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE BRIDGE connecting Canada and the United States at Buffalo was dedicated in August to international good will. The Prince of Wales and the Prime Minister of Great Britain were present and spoke in terms of peace and friendship, but Vice-President Dawes went further, startling his listeners, including radio audiences throughout the United States and Canada, by asserting that it is unthinkable that Great Britain and the United States should be plunged into a competitive building of naval armaments, contrary to the general agreement of the Washington Conference and to the wishes of the people of both countries. In other words, the failure of the recent Geneva Conference on limitation of armaments was credited to British diplomacy.

THE NICARAGUAN situation ever and anon creates new suspicions of the United States in the Latin American republics. The people of these countries cannot understand why Uncle Sam's soldiers should be occupying Nicaraguan territory. The use of bombing planes for purposes of defending these soldiers and the consequent killing of Nicaraguans is also misunderstood.

THE WORLD FEDERATION OF EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS is performing yeoman service in behalf of world community. At its second biennial conference held at the University of Toronto in August, the entire program was carried on in the English language. Conferences, interchanges of points of view, a chorus concert, and a pageant, "The Heart of the World," were the outstanding features.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS at its second biennial session, held in Honolulu in July, made considerable progress as an unofficial discussion group, according to the summary given recently by its president, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur. The international machinery for handling the disputed questions of the Pacific is pronounced inadequate. There is too much thinking that — "belongs to the retired list"—too many assumptions. Interpenetration of ideas and goods is developing, but intermigration is becoming more difficult. A startling economic independence among the countries of the Pacific is emphasized. The Chinese are evolving their civilization into a modern and democratic form, while the Japanese are discovering that emigration is no adequate solution of their population problem, for when "an emigrant moves out, a baby moves in."

IMMIGRATION from Canada and Mexico is to be included in the quota restrictive legislation, according to a current forecast regarding the actions of the new Seventieth Congress of the United States. Mexican immigration is the real storm center. The alignment both for and against the restriction of Mexican immigration is strong. Those favoring restriction are: (1) trade unions, (2) farmers' organizations, (3) women's organizations, and (4) social welfare agencies. The main argument is that Mexican laborers are being exploited; that the large numbers make them "cheap labor." Those opposing restriction are: (1) the railroads, (2) the lumber and mining interests, and the large-scale ranches of the Southwest. They advance the argument that they will be ruined without this "cheap labor," for Americans will not do menial tasks, and European and Asiatic unskilled labor has been cut down or off entirely.

Social Fiction Notes

BLACK APRIL. By JULIA PETERKIN. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1927, pp. 316.

Black April reflects the mellow, accurate observations of one who has lived year in and year out in daily contact with the isolated Gullah plantation Negroes of South Carolina until she has literally achieved that rare knack of consistently "thinking black." In truth, the book is "chocolate to de bone," not a single white character trespassing upon its pages.

Though centering ostensibly about Black April, the swashbuckling Negro foreman, and April Breeze, his illegitimate son, the story is really a fascinating picture of these simple rural people in their daily round of life activities. Mirth, death, hunting, plowing, quilting, hog-killing, medicine, marriage, hoodoo, religion, treatment of children, all these and more are interestingly and accurately portrayed, each basic episode being drawn from Mrs. Peterkin's first-hand observations. In *Black April* one learns that leadership is leadership regardless of color; the reader revels in the homely philosophy of Uncle Isaac, the conjurer and ghost-seer, who juggles his respectable Episcopal and Presbyterian gleanings into a wanton mixture which he calls "Piscoteerin," and is far from condemning Zeda, miser of men, who "don' like to see no other 'oman hab no man."

Instead of black folk fretting because they cannot Caucasianize themselves we find them rather making a charcoal interpretation of the white man's culture. "Gi' me de black all de time. White t'ings is too weakly!" "Black peoples ruled sickness with magic, but white people got sick and died. White people leave money to their children, but black people leave signs. Give her the signs every time." Even God at times takes on an ebon hue, and doubt is occasionally expressed as to whether white people will be admitted to the kingdom of heaven at all.

Mrs. Peterkin has breathed life into countless superstitions which the ethnographer usually lines up in neat little rows like so many barren grave-marks. "Looka here, boy! You been a-steppin' in my tracks! I know it! A' awful pain is come right on de top o' my

head! . . . Git a stick! Now brake 'em in two an' cross 'em! Put 'em in one o' you' tracks! Git me shet o' dis pain!" Here we have superstition, not as a corpsy curiosity, but as a tremulous, throbbing, living motive force in Negro life.

Plantation religion shudders at such godless innovations as ice, boll-weevil poison, aeroplanes, and radio. It surges triumphantly in a floodtide of emotionalism and babbles unceasingly over doctrinal shallows. "I ain' no Still-water Baptist, gal! I wouldn't go to hear no Still-water preacher. . . . Jedus was baptized in de River Jurdan, an' dat's runnin' water."

Passion, pride, cruelty, tenderness, lassitude and fervor are blended accurately into their proper proportions. There is no catering to the feelings of the white man, no whitewashed Negro caricature, but Negro life with a Negro interpretation. It will be appreciated, not only by students of race, environment, and rural life, but by all lovers of vigorous, convincing literature.

N. N. Puckett.